# TAMIL CIVILIZATION

Quarterly Research Journal of the Tamil University

Vol. I No. 1 March 1983

CONTENTS

Factors of Emigration of Indian Labour in the 19th Century by *K. Nambi Arooran* ... 1

The Analytical Psychology of Jung and the Agamic Psychology of Meykandar .by *K. Loganatha Mutharayan* ... 25

The Politico Economic Implications of the Religious Conversion of the Paravas in the Gulf of Mannar, A. D. 1532 — 1552 by *S. Manickam* ... 57

The Place of Grammatical Relations in Language Description by *K. Rangan* ... 75

Nannan of North Malabar by *P. L. Samy* ... 95

Book Review – *Drama in Ancient Tamil Society* by *N. V. Ram Narasan* ... 105

TAMIL UNIVERSITY
THANJAVUR
TAMIL NADU
INDIA

**Board of Editors :** Dr. M. S. Andronov (*Moscow*), Prof. R. E. Asher (*Edinburgh*), Prof. F. Gross (*France*), Miss. Jaya Appasamy, (*New Delhi*), Prof. N. Karashima (*Tokyo*), Prof. K. Nambi Arooran (*Thanjavur*), Prof. A. S. Raman (*Thanjavur*), Prof. Harold F. Schiffman, (*Washington*), Prof. S. Singaravelu (*Malaysia*), Prof. S. Vithiananthan (*Sri Lanka*).

**Executive Editor :** Thiru S. Chellappan (*Thanjavur*)

*Tamil Civilization* is a quarterly research *journal* of the Tamil University intended for the researchers in Tamilology and Indology, history of the migration of the Tamils to different parts of the world, and their social and cultural problems.

The *Journal* will contain articles, notes, reviews and reports on Tamil language and literature, temple architecture, history, epigraphy, translation, sculpture, dance, drama, painting, music, ancient sciences, ancient industry, siddha medicine, linguistics and all other aspects of the Tamil and related cultures.

Articles, reviews, notes and announcements typed in double line space (three copies) are requested from scholars for publication. 50 off-prints will be issued free of cost to authors in addition to a copy of *Tamil Civilization*. Diacritical marks of the *Tamil Lexicon* should be followed.

**Book Reviews :** Two copies of the books to be reviewed should be sent to the Executive Editor. 25 off-prints will be given to the reviewer and 10 to the author.

SUBSCRIPTION

| | India & Sri Lanka | Foreign |
|---|---|---|
| Single Copy | Rs. 15-00 | — |
| Annual | Rs. 50-00 | U S. $ 10/- |
| Five Years | Rs. 200-00 | U.S. $ 40/- |

**Correspondence :** All manuscripts, books for review, subscription and all other matters should be addressed to the Executive Editor, *Tamil Civilization*, Tamil University, Thanjavur 613 001, Tamil Nadu, India.

Articles in *Tamil Civilization* do not necessarily represent either the views of the Tamil University or those of the Board of Editors.

# TAMIL CIVILIZATION

Quarterly Research Journal of the Tamil University

Vol. I No. 1 March 1983

TAMIL UNIVERSITY
THANJAVUR
TAMIL NADU
INDIA

## Contributors

1. Dr. K. Nambi Arooran,
   Professor,
   Department of Tamil Studies in Foreign Countries,
   Tamil University,
   Thanjavur.

2. Thiru. K. Loganatha Mutharayan,
   Deputy Director,
   InSPIRE, University of Science,
   Penang,
   Malaysia.

3. Dr. S. Manickam,
   Reader in Medieval History,
   School of Historical Studies,
   Madurai-Kamaraj University,
   Madurai.

4. Dr. K. Rangan,
   Professor,
   Department of Linguistics,
   Tamil University,
   Thanjavur.

5. Thiru. P. L. Samy, I. A. S.,
   Revenue Secretary-cum-Collector,
   Pondicherry.

6. Book Review by Thiru. N. V. Ram Narasan,
   Professor and Head of the Department of the Drama,
   Tamil University,
   Thanjavur.

# Factors of Emigration of Indian Labour in the 19th Century

K. NAMBI AROORAN

**Introduction**

The nineteenth century was the great age of mass migration. Never before in history had so many people been uprooted from their traditional homes and ways of life, transported over great distances and settled in strange countries and environments, to make a new life in totally unfamiliar circumstances. This extraordinary phenomenon in the history of mankind raises numerous and complex questions for historian, as well as the sociologist and economist.

Some of the questions are: How and why did men emigrate? What happened to them on the journey? What happened to them in their new environment? What was the impact of emigration (or migration or immigration) on the various regions and authorities concerned?[1] An attempt is made in this paper to study in detail only one aspect of these movements: what made men emigrate from their ancestral homes?

The stimulus may have been mainly economic, but this does not explain why populations of considerable poverty who had previously never migrated to any serious extent, or perhaps even thought of doing so, suddenly began to move across frontiers and oceans in large numbers. Here again a number of questions can be raised: Why do men from one part of a country migrate more readily than from other parts of the same country? Why do migrants prefer to go to one area rather than to another? Why are some streams of migration relatively unorganised, while others rely upon intermediaries such as labour contractors? Such questions lead us to probe some of the fundamental problems of capitalist development in the wake of industrial revolution, of social structure, social change and the role of particular political and administrative systems and cultural traditions.[2]

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to a brief discussion of definitions of various terms relating to emigration and the second part analyses the various factors of emigration of Indian labour in the 19th century.

---

1. See the Foreword by E. J. Hobsbawm to Panchanan Saha, *Emigration of Indian Labour*, ( Delhi : People's Publishing House, 1970 ). p.vii. Hereafter this book is cited as *Emigration of Indian Labour*.

2. *Ibid.*

## PART I

### Definitions of terms relating to emigration

Before analysing the factors of emigration of Indian labour, let us look at the various definitions of emigration and its related terms.

The three terms, migration, emigration and immigration are very closely connected expressions conveying subtle differences in meaning and interpretation. Absolute distinctions in the use of terms cannot be drawn, and overlapping is common. Many nations tend to differ in their official definitions of migration.

The word *migration* is derived from the Latin word *migrare,* meaning to change one's residence. But in modern usage it means the act of moving from one country or region to settle in another or as in the case of birds or fish from one climate to another. The discussion here is restricted to only human migration.

Migration also implies change of one's community. If we regard a nation as a community, then by this meaning all international movements are included under the term *migration.* In practice, geographical distance is generally taken as a rough measure to determine whether the migrant crosses into another community or a nation[3].

In a broad sense, human migration is a relatively permanent movement of an individual or a group over a significant distance. This broad definition leaves the key terms " permanent movement " and " significant distance " to be explained, and they are variously defined according to arbitrarily chosen criteria[4].

International migration may be defined as a permanent movement of people, of their own free will, from one sovereign country to another. A comprehensive view of international migration must include forced as well as free movements[5]. But according to a United Nations publication, international migration is defined as " the non-coerced migrations, which constitute the great majority of all migratory movements in normal times, and which are closely related to economic and social factors ". The U. N. definition specifically excludes population transfers, deportations, refugee movements, and the movements of 'displaced persons'. That an international body which includes some of the states most responsible for forced migrations should exclude them from its demographic analyses is understandable; but there is no reason why independent academic scholars should accept this arbitrary definition.[6]

3. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* (U. S. A., 1968), vol. 10, p. 287.

4. *The Encyclopedia Americana,* (U. S. A., 1980), vol. 19, p. 97.

5. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* vol. 10, p. 287.

6. *Ibid*, p. 290. For example the partition of India was accompanied by one of the largest migrations in human history, in part induced by terrorists on both sides, in part arranged under state auspices. Many scholars prefer to omit this type of movement from their purview of ' migration ' studies.

It is also necessary to note the distinction between intercontinental and intra-continental migration. The migrations which have had the deepest and most enduring effects have been those which were transoceanic and intercontinental.[7] Intercontinental migrants not only often cover great physical distances but also face an unaccustomed cultural environment and a strange language. When migrants cross an ocean, there are strict limits to what they can take with them; their traditions, ideals, techniques, and material belongings, when applied in a distant and totally new environment, yield a pattern of life quite different from the one they left behind. There is something irrevocable about crossing an ocean. The polititical, economic, and racial configuration of the United States today is very much the outcome of three transoceanic migrations – The Pilgrim Fathers and their successors, the slaves from Africa, and the European masses in the 19th century.

Intercontinental migration came to an end in 1920's, and its place was taken by interregional or intracontinental movements which have had important demographic and social effects.[8] The chief source of intracontinental migrants have been China, India, Pakistan, Japan and Korea; the main recipients have been Malaya, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, British Borneo, the Philippines, and Manchuria. In most of these countries the immigrants have been mainly Chinese and Indians.

Interracial migration is the entrance into one country of people of a different race, such as the Chinese and Japanese immigration into Western America or Australia or Europe, or Negro immigration into America or Asia; it also includes the movements of Indians into South-east Asia. Interracial immigration has been so generally condemned that it has been stopped in most of North America, Europe and Australia.[9]

In statistics of international migration, a migrant is commonly someone who declares an intention to stay in the country of entry at least a year, irrespective of the fact whether the person actually remains that long.[10] According to the United States Bureau of the Census: "If the change is within the same country, the person is a mover. If the change is to another country, the person is a migrant".[11]

Movements that lead to temporary change of residence are generally considered non-migratory. These include nomadism because the nomad has no fixed home, and seasonal movements, as of farm workers who follow

7. *Ibid.*, p.294.

8. *Ibid.*

9. J. W. Gregory, *Human Migration and the Future,* (London : Seeley, Service & Co. Limited, 1928), pp. 40–41.

10. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica,* (U.S.A., 1981), vol. 12, p. 184.

11. *The Encyclopedia Americana,* vol. 19, p. 97.

the crop season. Tourism and commuting also are nonmigratory.[12]

There are three other types of population movements similar to migration but differing in character:[13]

(1) *Invasions*: Invasions are movements *en masse*, involving the whole or a larger part of a group of people or tribe. An invasion is a case of a more primitive civilization overcoming a more developed one. For this reason these movements if temporary may leave the higher culture relatively little touched. Though invasions are rare in modern times, the term is used when unusually large numbers of less culturally developed immigrants arrive in a nation. Invasion, however, involves warfare, while immigration, though producing friction, is peaceful.[14]

(2) *Conquest*: In conquest, people of a more complex culture take the initiative and attack and subjugate less-developed regions. People other than soldiers, traders, adventurers, and missionaries hardly change their residence. Hence there is only a limited crossing of races or nationalities. But gradually elements of the alien culture will be imposed upon or will be voluntarily adopted by the conquered people.[15]

(3) *Colonization*: When the emphasis is on purposeful control of an area by a state or a commercial company, migration should properly be termed colonization. Unlike conquest it is a peaceful movement, though it may follow conquest. The motive here is usually commercial as well as political.[16]

The terms *Emigrate* and *Immigrate* carry the idea of a permanent change of residence to some other country or some distant region; the two words are used distinctively of human beings, and apply to one and the same person and to one and the same act, but varying according to the side from which the action is viewed. A person emigrates from the country he leaves, and immigrates to the country where he takes up his abode.[17]

A person who leaves one country, or section of a country, to settle in another is called *emigrant*. Such an act of emigrating is termed *emigration*. Similarly the terms *immigrant* and *immigration* convey the same meaning but

---

12. *Ibid.*, p. 98.

13. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, p. 803.

14. Donald R. Taft, *Human Migration*, (New York : The Ronald Press Company, 1936), p. 51.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 51–52. Other varieties of the migration phenomenon may best be called wandering or settlement or dispersion. When the emphasis is on the forceful extrusion of groups or individuals, the term is expulsion or exile. *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 14., p. 803.

17. Funk and Wagnalls, *Standard Dictionary*, (Chicago : J. G. Ferguson Publishing Co., 1976), vol. I, p. 413.

vary according to the side from which the action in viewed.[18]

The legal definition of an emigrant varies considerably from country to country. According to the definitions adopted by Austria, Denmark, Italy, Spain, and Great Britain, the term is limited to people moving from a European to a non-European country.[19] According to the laws of Australia, Canada, France, Germany, and Portugal, an emigrant is any person going from that state to any other. British official usage restricts the name emigrant, in the case of British subjects, to those going from a British to a non-British area. Removal to a British territory is Overseas Settlement. A person moving from one part of the Empire to another is an Overseas Settler. This terminology is not adopted throughout the British Empire. Australian law defines an emigrant as anyone leaving Australia permanently.

The term is also subject to various economic restrictions ; thus according to some definitions it is limited to those who move on their own initiative and are unaided by their government or any agency. In some countries the terms emigrant and immigrant are applied only to passengers by the second and third classes. In some cases it is applied only to steerage passengers.[20]

The International Conference on Emigration and Immigration, held in Rome in 1924, attempted to draw up a definition, not merely for statistical purposes, but more relevantly as a basis for the regulation of migration by international convention and to facilitate the cooperation of the administrative authorities of different countries. The Conference defined an emigrant thus :

> " An emigrant shall be deemed to be a person who leaves his country in search of employment, or to accompany or join his consort, parents or children, brothers or sisters, uncles or aunts, nephews or nieces, or their consorts, who have already emigrated for the same purpose, or one who returns in the same conditions to the country which he has already entered as an immigrant on a previous occasion ".[21]

The Conference considered as an 'emigrant' any person as defined above from the time when he makes his

---

18. *Ibid.*, p. 632. The terms *emigration* and *immigration* relate to the same individuals considered under two different aspects. But every *emigrant* does not necessarily become an *immigrant*. A person leaving his country to take up his residence abroad may die on the journey, change his mind and go to another country as a tourist, or be refused entry by the country of destination. These are, however, exceptional cases. *Statistics of Migration, Definitions – Methods – Classifications,* (Geneva : International Labour Office, 1932), p. 10.

19. For a detailed discussion on the official definitions of different countries see J. W. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 38 – 39.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

21. *Statistics of Migration, Definitions – Methods – Classifications,* p. 22.

preparations for departure to the time when he enters the country of destination. He is subjected to the laws, regulations and agreements of that country and satisfies the following definition:

"(a) An immigrant shall be deemed to be any alien who arrives in a country in search of employment there and intends to settle there permanently;

(b) Any alien who arrives in a country for the sole purpose, of working there temporarily shall be deemed to be an ordinary traveller".[22]

To sum up, the following points may be remembered in the use of terminology employed in this paper:

(1) The word *migration* ("international" is understood in this paper) means generally the act of removal for a certain time from one country to another. A *migrant* is a person performing such act, also considered generally.

(2) The words *emigration* and *emigrant* are applied respectively to the act and the person considered from the point of view of the country of departure. The nationality of the person is of secondary importance.

(3) Similarly the words *immigration* and *immigrant* are applied respectively to the act of international removal and the person performing it considered from the point of view of the country of arrival. Here too the nationality of the person is of secondary importance.

The word *transmigration* is used to describe the passage through a third country crossed by the route of communication between the country of emigration and the country of immigration, and the word transmigrant to describe the migrant considered from the point of view of such intermediate country.[23] Similarly the words *re-emigration* and *re-immigration* are used for describing respectively the act of an emigrant who, having returned to his country of origin, leaves it again, and the act of an immigrant who, having left the country of immigraion, returns to it again.

The term *remigration* denotes the act of leaving the country of origin for a period and then returning to it. *Remigrants* differ from the emigrants who remain abroad with the intention of permanent settlement. Almost by definition remigrants are less able to acculturate to their new enviroment than immigrants who remain there.[24]

In the usage of above terms, it is essential to say a word on the migration that takes place between a mother (home) country and her colonies or between different colonies of the same mother country. It is not proposed to question the internal character of such migration

22. *Ibid.*

23. The terms *transmigration* and *transmigrants* are different from the terms *transit* and *persons in transit,* which should be applied only to ordinary travellers. There is also a distinction between *persons in transit* and *tourists. Ibid.*, p. 27.

24. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 10, p. 286.

from the point of view of the countries concerned. But the fact remains that from the point of view of emigration studies, the movements between mother-countries and their colonies and between different colonies of the same mother country are also of much significance and it may be regarded as international migration.[25]

The above situation can be explained with reference to emigration from South India. The South Indian population have during the 19th century emigrated to Burma, the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, and even further abroad to the islands off the east coast of Africa, and the West Indies. The Indian Emigration Act (1871) excluded Burma as being part of the Indian Empire, and the Straits Settlements and Ceylon as being quasi-Indian countries.[26] The Act defined as an Indian emigrant one who goes by sea under contract to labour for hire to some country other than either of those mentioned above. The emigration under this Act is in other terms styled Colonial Emigration, meaning emigration from one part to other parts of the British Empire.[27]

The Indian Emigration Act of 1908, listed the following three categories of countries to which emigration was declared lawful :[28]

(1) The British Colonies of Mauritius, Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Natal, St. Kitts, Nevis, Fiji and Seychelles.

(2) The Netherlands Colony of Dutch Guiana.

(3) The Danish Colony of St. Croix.

Colonial emigration of Indian labour to the French Colonies of Reunion, Guadaloupe, Martinique and French Guiana was permitted as per the Act of 1871. But emigration to French Guiana was stopped in 1876, the climate and the gold-washing industry being both considered seriously prejudicial to the emigrant's health. The Indian Government stopped emigration to Reunion in 1882 because of the ill-treatment of emigrants.[29] The Act of 1908, omitted the other two French colonies – Guadaloupe and Martinique – also from the purview of Indian emigration.

---

25. *Statistics of Migration, Definitions—Methods—Classifications,* p. 28.

26. *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency,* (Madras: Govt. Press, 1885), vol. I, p. 499.

27. *Ibid.* The British Colonies were divided into three classes. First, the Crown colonies, secondly, colonies possessing representative institutions, and thirdly, colonies possessing responsible Governments. There was Indian emigration to the first two classes of British colonies: Demerara (British Guiana), Jamaica, Mauritius, the Straits Settlements and Fiji were Crown Colonies; and the Leeward Islands, the Windward Islands, Natal and Ceylon possessed representative institutions. *Ibid.,* p. 503. The British Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements comprised Singapore, Penang, Malacca and Labuan It was dissolved in 1946.

28. TNA. A. R. M. 1357. The Indian Emigration Act, 1908 (XVII of 1908), p. 50.

29. *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency,* vol. I, pp. 505–6.

## PART II

**"Push" and "Pull" Factors:**

The well-known classification of factors of emigration is that of "push" and "pull" factors. Emigrants may be pushed out of their region of origin owing to some causes. Similarly they may be pulled out of their country by external forces. Some scholars have tried to explain all emigrations are due to push factors only, whereas others have stressed pull factors exclusively. It may be true that push factors are enough to bring about emigration. In other instances, pull factors may be entirely responsible for emigration. In most cases, however, both push and pull factors play a role. A prospective emigrant weighs the circumstances in his home country and the attractions as well as disadvantages of every potential country of destination. Such differences between countries usually form a prerequisite for emigration.[30]

It is said that push factors are more likely to predominate in a less developed country, where families are large and land is scarce.[31] This is true of the 19th century India when emigration started and reached startling heights. People who can find no means of support in rural areas formed the core of Indian emigrants. There were other push factors such as social oppression, exploitation of the landlords and money-lenders, decline of rural industries, frequent visitation of famines and political tyranny in the areas of the great revolt of 1857.

In the case of emigration of Indian labour there was one powerful pull factor, namely, the availability of job opportunities in plenty in the British colonies, after the abolition of slavery. Therefore it may be said that both push and pull factors interacted in the emigration of Indian labour in the 19th century.

Indian labourers emigrated to different parts of the British Empire in the 19th century, which was a very crucial period in the history of India with far-reaching political, economic and social changes. The emigrants came from various castes, classes and nationalities and they were recruited from different parts of India over a period of 75 years. Panchanan Saha discusses the emigration during this period in two phases, the first phase lasting from 1834 to 1860, and the second phase from 1861 to the end of the 19th century.[32] The factors of emigration did not remain the same for all regions and periods. Similarly the areas of recruitment, the classes and castes of the Indian emigrants varied from period to period.

During the first half of the 19th century, the emigrants were recruited mainly from the tribal areas of the Bengal Presidency and they were called 'hill-coolies', also

30. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 12, p. 185.
31. *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 19, p. 98.
32. *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 28.

'known as dhangars'.[33] Along with hill-coolies a considerable number of low-caste Hindus were also sent to the British colonies in the early 1840's. They were mostly ignorant people induced to emigrate to an unknown destination by persuasion and false promises.

The character of the emigrants as well as their class and castes changed remarkably with the passage of time and the change in the area of recruitment. In the second phase, the emigration of hill-coolies drastically decreased and a large number of high-caste Hindus migrated voluntarily.

The proportions of different castes and classes are obtained from the emigration reports of various years. From the analysis of such reports for three seasons in the 1870's, it appears that the ratio of Hindus and Muslims who emigrated is roughly like the all-India ratio of the two communities 86:14. Among the Hindu emigrants, Brahminical high castes comprised roughly 16 percent, agriculturists 32 percent, artisans 9 percent and low castes 43 percent.[34] It seems that the class and caste ratio of the emigrants did not vary much during the years of emigration. From the Madras Persidency, mostly pariahs or untouchables and a considerable number of Sudras and a few Muslims emigrated. The emigrants from the Tamil districts were mostly agricultural labourers.[35]

In spite of slight variations in the caste, class and character of the emigrants from different parts of India, it is possible to discern some basic factors of emigration valid for all regions and all periods, besides some incidental and auxiliary causes peculiar to certain areas and periods.

## 1. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

The Industrial Revolution and the development of mass production in Europe had a great repercussion on those European countries which had colonies in various parts of the world. They had vast territories and capital, but their manpower was not sufficient to exploit the natural resources of the colonies to the fullest extent. They at first used slave labour, but the abolition of slavery in the British empire in 1833 raised a big problem.

The abolition of slavery by Britain in Her Empire, created a vacuum in British plantations in the tropical and the sub-tropical colonies, in the realm of labour-force. Sufficient native labour was not available for the developing of plantations and the substitution of white labour was out of the question, because of the unsuitable climate and heavy expenditure involved. As a consequence

33. The hill-coolies were found suitable to work in the plantations because of their experience of working in the jungle lands, their docile nature and simplicity. They were easily recruited by the agents on false promises. But their emigration gradually declined after the middle of the 1840's, partly due to heavy mortality at sea among this class of emigrants and partly due to demand for labour in the tea districts of Assam, *Ibid.*, 29.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

a great demand arose for a regular supply of agricultural labour to fill that vacuum. The worst hit were the sugar plantations in the West Indies, British Guiana, Natal, Mauritius and Fiji, and the abolition of slavery threatened the very existence of the sugar industries.[36]

A sugar plantation needs the continuous availability of a large labourforce for day-to-day work. Even before the abolition of slavery in 1833, the slave trade was abolished throughout the British empire in 1807. Since then a long period of crisis began in all the sugar plantation colonies dependent on slave labour. The sugar economy in those colonies was based on two pillars, namely, slave labour and protection through legislation.[37]

It may not be out of place to trace briefly the evolution of modern slavery and the efforts leading to its abolition. Slavery has been associated with every type of society from the most simple to the most complex, from the ancient times to the present. Men have enslaved one another for two main reasons - first, as a form of punishment, and second, as a response to the demand for men and women to serve as labourers. Everywhere slavery was accepted as a normal part of human activity until the late 18th century when European philosophers began to speak and write against the institution.

The European colonisation of America gave a filip to slavery by making it the foundation of a society for several years. The Europeans who enslaved the natives of the New World and brought Africans as slaves to the Americas began to do so because they wanted cheap, available labour. The transatlantic slave trade and the interrelated commerce, involving needs and products of the American slave-operated plantations, were the main factors that produced a socioeconomic complex known as the South Atlantic system. The slave trade formed a vital element of that system.[38]

The regular slave trade between Africa and the English North American colonies began in 1619, when a Dutch warship in distress landed at Jamestown (Virginia) and exchanged 20 Africans who had probably been captured in the West Indies, for food and supplies. The cotton boom, which started after the invention of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793, created a greater demand for slaves to work the new lands opened up for cultivation in the southern and south-western United States.

Slavery and the slave trade were closely connected with the rise of European capitalism. The American slave was viewed not only as a unit of potential labour but also as a commercial asset. A direct link existed between the transatlantic slave trade and the growth and prosperity of the American plantation colonies. In their role as producers of exported raw materials for the European cities, the

---

36. P. D. Pillay, " Imperial Policy and Immigration in the Colonies, 1828 – 1920 ", in Anirudha Gupta (ed.), *Indians Abroad : Asia & Africa,* (New Delhi : Orient Longman, 1971), p. 20. Hereafter cited as *Indians Abroad : Asia & Africa.*

37. *Emigration of Indian Labour,* p. 5.

38. *The Encyclopedia Americana,* vol. 25, pp. 20–21.

colonists quickly realised that slavery afforded both the fastest and easiest method of providing the labour force for developing the colonies. The colony with the most slaves tended to have a major advantage over the others in terms of growing raw materials.

The most obvious economic result of the transatlantic slave trade and of the entire South Atlantic System was the remarkable expansion and prosperity of a number of European and American port cities. Shipbuilding and the maritime activities connected with the provision and manning of ships gave employment for a considerable number of the urban population. The trade helped industrial development in their surrounding areas also.

The world of the American slave-holders began to fall apart from the last quarter of the 18th century. European thinkers and writers such as Montesquieu, Rousseau, the Abbe Raynal, and the Abbe Gregoire brought the whole issue of slavery under systematic attack in their advocacy of social and political reform. In 1772, Lord Mansfield, the English chief justice, declared that slavery was illegal not only in England but in any part of the British Empire. Anti-slavery societies were founded in England in 1787 and in France in 1788. These societies supported the antislavery efforts abroad of evangelical religious groups.

During the 19th century, slavery came under criticism not only from religious organisations but also from secular thinkers on political reform, who saw it as an obnoxious form of special privilege, contrary both to reason and humanity. Along with these humanitarian attacks came the inexorable decline in economic and political importance of the slave colonies, formerly sustained by the powerful West India lobby in the English Parliament.

The abolition of slavery resulted from the general climate of economic, political and social reform that followed the French Revolution, which in 1791 had temporarily abolished slavery in the French Empire. The actual emancipation of the slaves, however, varied from place to place.

The British abolished slavery in 1833, set up an apprenticeship system for the slaves and paid compensation to the slave-holders.[39] In 1838, the slaves in the West Indies and South Africa got their freedom, and those in British India were freed in 1843. The French abolished slavery as a part of the reforms of the July Revolution of 1848, and the Danes abolished slavery the same year. By the late 1850's all the mainland Spanish American republics had abolished slavery, and it had virtually disappeared in Mexico, Central America and Chile. The Dutch emancipated their slaves in 1863. The United States abolished slavery by the 13th amendment in 1865. Spain freed those in Puerto Rico in 1873, and those in Cuba in 1886. Brazil was the last American state to abolish slavery in 1888.[40]

39. The Anti-Slavery Society in Britain fought a prolonged battle from 1823, under the leadership of T. F. Buxton who spearheaded the movement in place of the aging Wilberforce, and finally succeeded in 1833. *The New Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 16, p. 862.

40. *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 25, p. 24,

The Act of Emancipation passed by the British Parliament made the liberated slaves "apprentices" to their former masters for six years, during which time the slaves might be educated for freedom, and the masters might provide for the contingency of their withdrawal from field labour. The apprentices were bound to work for their employers for 40 hours each week without wages.[41]

The period of apprenticeship was full of conflicts between the liberated slaves and their old masters.[42] The system was hated by the former slaves. They felt that they had been cheated. On the one hand they were granted freedom and on the other they were bound by strict regulations. They began working when and as long as they wished. Many began to withdraw gradually from the plantation labour.

There were other losses to the plantation owners. During slavery the planters had used women and children as field labourers and had been able to extract work from the aged and infirm. After the emancipation many women began to devote their time to house-keeping and family-raising and few children were allowed to work by their parents.

The apprenticeship system led to many problems. During the hours of enforced labour the planters controlled the apprentices through Stipendiary Magistrates. But after labouring for 40 hours a week the apprentices demanded exorbitant wages for additional hours, particularly during the 'crop' season when additional labour was needed to gather sugarcane from the field. The 40-hour week was almost equivalent to a withdrawal of one-sixth of the labour supply.[43]

The former masters also found it very difficult to adjust themselves to the changed situation. The apprentices also had bitter memories as slaves at the hands of the planters. The resultant tension very much affected the labour market as well as the output of sugar. The apprentices also worked less efficiently than they had previously as slaves. Thus after the emancipation the master was "the slave of the Negro until immigration began to tell".[44]

As a consequence of the abolition of slavery the demand for labour continued to exceed the supply. The plantation owners began to explore the possibilities of importing labour from outside. They complained to the British Parliament about the scarcity of labour and a Parliamentary Committee recommended importation of labourers in the colonies. The importation of European as well as African labour proved to be an utter failure. As an alternative two countries of Asia could meet the demands of the planters, namely, China and India. Introduction of Chinese labour was considered but it proved to be unsatisfactory and also uneconomic.[45] There-

41. *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 6.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
45. It is said that the Chinese have always had a strong sense of belonging to their land, and even when they emigrated they hoped to return for a life of ease in retirement or at least for burial with their ancestors. *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 14, p. 807.

fore British colonial masters turned towards India where they found a cheap reservoir of mankind for labour. Soon India became the main source of immigrant workers for the West Indian sugar colonies in the midforties of the 19th century. Planters in Mauritius also introduced Indian labour on a large scale.

The emigration of Indian labour commenced on an organised scale in 1834 and continued till 1917. But towards the end of the century the flow of emigration of indentured labour had diminished if not stopped completely. By 1900-01 nearly half a million labourers of Indian origin were living in the following sugar colonies [46]

| | |
|---|---|
| Mauritius | ... 259,086 |
| British Guiana | ... 122,282 |
| Trinidad | ... 85,855 |
| Jamaica | ... 15,278 |

Thus the abolition of slavery in the British Empire may be said to be the first and foremost factor in encouraging Indian emigration. The scarcity of labour after the termination of slavery, the demanding of an excessively high rate of wages by the liberated slaves, the fall in the quality and quantity of the labour of the freed slaves, the preference of planters to Indian labour because of their clean habits and quiet and docile disposition and the ready labour market in India which promised a steady supply of useful and willing labourers were the other subsidiary factors

## 2. SOCIAL OPPRESSION

The self-supporting village units in India helped the development of a caste system based on hereditary occupation. Below the landholding class, and subject to its authority were the various artisan and menial classes, who were economically and socially very much dependent on the dominant classes who owned the land and controlled its allotment. These castes were all more or less servile and were paid by a share of the produce of the soil or more rarely, by fixed allowances in kind, cash payments being very rare.[47] These servile classes eked out a living by cultivation but had no right in the soil, and custom prohibited them to change their abode without the consent of the landlords. Therefore, the duties, and remuneration of each group, fixed by customs and caste rules, strictly forbade a man to enter into competition with another of the same caste.

In Bihar and Orissa there was in existence a kind of slavery known as the *Kamiutee* system.[48] Under this system, the lower classes used to sell their services and even their children voluntarily to the zamindar or moneylender for any number of years for taking advances in time of dire necessity. They were bound to work for them until such loans were repaid. The slaves in North India were mostly domestic servants.

In South India the extent of slavery was a social plague. The 'pariahs' or the untouchables were a kind of slaves by whom alone the cultivation of a great

46. *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 21.
47. S. Manickam, *Slavery in the Tamil Country*, (Madras : CLS, 1982), pp. 1-2.
48. *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 44.

part of the Madras Presidency was carried on.[49] There was a regular trade in slaves, though not on a very large scale, and both Indians and Europeans were involved in this lucrative but nefarious business. The purchase-price of a slave is mentioned by Leicester Stanhope in his appeal to the Duke of Gloucester to abolish slavery in India, in 1823, thus : " Four to fifteen rupees for a boy; sixteen to twenty-four rupees for a woman; twenty-four to one hundred and sixty rupees for an adult man ".[50]

During the middle of the 19th century it was estimated that the untouchables constituted nearly one-fifth of the whole population of India, south of river Krishna. According to Francis Buchanan there were nearly 3 million slaves in the Madras Presidency out of a total population estimated at 15 million.[51] The Magistrate of Tinnevely reported that the number of slaves in that district alone amounted to about 324,000 in 1821-23.[52] The branding of slave's foreheads with red-hot iron rod was not unknown.[53] The slaves were harshly treated by many Europeans, and, according to contemporary accounts, were often whipped even for minor offences. Even more severe was the treatment of the run-away slaves who were caught.

If any slave tried to escape he would be given the severest punishment and sometimes confined " in a room without light or air, with an elephant's chain fixed to his legs ".[54] In spite of such restrictions we find most of the emigrants through the ports of Cochin, Pondicherry and Madras were slaves of the soil.

It may not be wrong to assume that the main reason behind the emigration of these people was only to seek freedom from a life of incessant toil and the shameful exploitation by the landlords. A clear description of the pathetic life of a slave is given by the unknown author of the book—*Slavery and Slave Trade in British India :*

> " The general condition of the agrestic slaves is bad everywhere. They enjoy little comfort, have coarse, precarious and scanty food (Dr. Buchanan states-not more than ' two-sevenths of what is a reasonable quantity '), bad clothing, fre-

---

49. Such feudal serfs were found in larger numbers in the districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Chingleput and South Arcot where *landed mirasi* flourished unchecked for generations than in any other part of the Tamil country. S. Manickam, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

50. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance,* (Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1981), Part II, p. 279. Hereafter cited as *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance.*

51. *Slavery and Slave trade in British India,* (London, 1841). India Office Library, Tracts 148, p. 4, cited in *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 46.

52. From the Judges of the Provincial Court of Circuit, Southern Division, to J. C. Morris, Acting Registrar of the Faujdari Adalat (Criminal court), 18 December 1832, cited in *Ibid.*

53. *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance,* Part II, p. 279.

54. Letter from J. Vaughan, second judge at Tellicherry to D. Cambell, Registrar of the Faujdari Adalat, 20 July 1828, cited in *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 46.

quently none at all, and no provision, that ever I could learn, for old age or sickness.... The labour exacted from them is onerous and oppressive. They are employed in all kinds of agricultural labour, rice tillage and the sugarcane, without the intermission of a single day, so long as their masters can find employment for them. They have no particular hours which they can call their own, nor any day in the week set apart for rest or devotion".[55]

If such a slave "in the last stage of poverty" fell in the trap of lucrative proposals of the agents, the reasons were not far to seek.[56] The offer of better prospects allured a number of the labouring population to migrate. If some of the emigrant labourers after acquiring comparatively large fortunes had returned home after an emigration of a few years, this undoubtedly went a long way to tempt many of their kith and kin to emigrate shaking off their feudal tentacles. Besides, the methods adopted by recruiting agents, particularly their habit of persuading in a convincing way were no less responsible for the emigration of a large number of agricultural labourers.[57]

From the foregoing discussion it seems clear that the causes of emigration of the lower caste people of hindu society in the settled areas, were mainly feudal and social oppression which left them almost paupers. The agents fully exploited the economic and social degradation of the downtrodden people to recruit a large number of emigrants from their ranks.

## 3. ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION BY THE LANDLORDS AND MONEYLENDERS

In Bengal and Bihar, the permanent settlement was introduced in 1793, in the place of annual settlements, and this began to change the structure of village society. In the settlement, the government's demand was 89 percent of the estimated economic rent and the remainder was left to the landlords. The setlement secured for the Company a fixed amount of revenue without fluctuation and with the prospect of more revenue when more land would be brought under the plough. The new landlords or zamindars were generally absentee proprietors and rack-rented the peasants. They were interested only in the rents they could squeeze from the land. Often they delegated to middlemen the right to collect rent from the peasants on certain conditions. The middlemen in their turn also sublet to subordinate classes of middlemen. As a consequence the peasantry of Bengal Presidency were exploited by these

55. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

56. Source : General Dept. (Emig.), 28 November 1838, Nos. 9–16. The Collector of Malabar even feared "if natives of Malabar are permitted to be thus allured, it will prove injurious to the agriculturists and as a matter of course, to the revenues of government". The letter of the Principal Collector of Malabar to the Secretary to Govt., Public Dept., Fort St. George, 19 September 1838, *Ibid.*, p. 47.

57. S. Manickam would even say that emigration was a "great teacher of self-respect and self-reliance". *Slavery in the Tamil Country*, p. 69.

people ruthlessly. The ryot who toiled on the land and created wealth for the zamindar and the government was sadly neglected under the settlement.

Depicting the miserable condition of the Bengal peasantry, T. Hugon of Bengal Service wrote in 1840, thus:

> "the poorer class of peasants having virtually been deprived of their proprietary rights in the soil by the Permanent Settlement of the land revenue, have acquired such migratory habits, that it may safely be asserted one half at least of that class have been displaced, and no more do they cultivate the fields their fathers cultivated before them. A rack rent, sometimes of 50 p. c. of the gross produce (to which are to be added the indirect contribution) exacted by the native zamindars drive the peasant to borrow from traders on his crops at an usurious interest (60% or more) driven like a football from one to the other".[58]

The functions of the zamindars were limited to the collection of as much rent as possible. They rack-rented the tenants, leaving little for meeting the vicissitudes of seasons and fortunes. The people who cultivated the land and produced the crops exposing themselves to the scroching sun and to the pouring rains, had no right to it. The zamindars enhanced the rent year by year, but the ryots had no power to raise any objection. From 1799, the zamindars were empowered to evict the tenants and also to confiscate their property for non-payment of rent. This resulted in making a large section of tenants dispossessed of their land particularly when crops failed. The number of landless agricultural labourers who now form a large section of the village population increased in this way.[59]

A very different land revenue system was introduced in the greater part of the Bombay and Madras presidencies. It was later extended to northeastern and northwestern India. Instead of creating intermediaries for collecting rent from the tillers, government dealt directly with the individual peasants on the land with an intention of extracting more revenue than the zamindari system. The government's share was about half of the net value of the crop. The rigid system of revenue collection often forced the ryot into the clutches of the money-lender. Besides, the government itself became a big zamindar and the cultivator was left at the mercy of its officers.[60]

The condition of the peasants was deteriorating in the recruiting areas of both parts of India due to the oppression of the landlords or due to the heavy rent demanded by the government. As a result a considerable number of peasants were forced to be either landless or lose a greater part of their holdings to meet exorbitant rent and other levies. The Emigration Enquiry Commission in their Majority Report observed the minute

---

58. Source: Enclosure of Sir William Nicolay's despatch, c. o. 167/218, No. 2, 13 January 1840, cited in *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 47.

59. P. E. Roberts, *History of British India*, (OUP, 1952), pp. 228–231.

60. R. Sathianathaier, *History of India*, (Madras: S. Viswanathan, 1952), p. 319.

division of land and the existence of a targe body of small proprietors or occupiers in north Indian recruiting areas.[61]

The new land rent revenue system introduced the monetary rent. As a result, a greater part of ryots in the recruiting areas were, to a great extent, indebted either to moneylenders or the landlords to meet rack-rents and other cesses or for seed to meet the vagaries of nature. By calculating dues at compound interests, the moneylenders demanded a huge sum, sometimes many times more than the original sum borrowed from the lender. The unfortunate peasants generally could not escape from the clutches of the moneylenders. Transfer of land in this manner to meet the money borrowed plus interest to the moneylender was rampant in the rural areas.[62]

The growth of moneylending business was the product of the new agrarian relationship introduced by the Britishers. In South India the moneylending business flourished under the ryotwari system. In Tanjore and other recruiting districts, hundreds of lower class cultivators were bound to serve under mirasidars (landholders) for debt or other reasons.[63] An official of the Madras Presidency described the pathetic condition of the Madras Ryot in 1853, in the following words:

> "he lives hand to mouth, he really sees money except that obtained from the chetty (moneylenders) to pay his kist (instalment of government revenue) ... His dwelling is a hut of mud-walls and thatched roof ... and still destitute, if possible, of anything that can be called furniture. His food and that of his family is partly their porridge made of the meal of grain boiled in water, and partly boiled rice with a little condiment.... ".[64]

The 'shaking of the pagoda tree' by English Nobobs in Bengal and the Carnatic reduced the people to economic wretchedness. The condition of the agricultural labourers was pathetic. Throughout their lives they were unable to save a single pie. To them a life of toil and incessant industry could offer no other prospect but to drag out a miserable old age, for they either would be paupers or mendicants. Work as an agricultural labourer was also periodic. An agricultural labourer could sell his labour power only during the period of cultivation. The village industries which provided part-time work to a great number of peasants at their off-time were declining. No wonder the major cause of emigration was the poverty of the peasantry.[65]

### 4. DECLINE OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Till the coming of industrial revolution in recent decades, India lived in her

61. Source : General Dept. (Emig.), 4 November 1840, Nos. 15–20, cited in *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 52.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

villages and agriculture was the very backbone of her economy. The Indian village was a self-sufficient unit. In times of normal rain-fall it produced sufficient foodgrains for its subsistence. Other needs of the villagers were few and they were met by the village artisans. The agricultural surplus went to the ruler in the form of land revenue, and the peasant, after paying the government, had little surplus left with him for purchasing the goods of urban industry. What was left went to meet his needs of salt, spices and clothing. Under such circumstances, there could be little exchange of goods between the village and town.[66]

Besides meagerness of demand, another factor restricting exchange of goods between the rural areas and towns was lack of good roads. The second restricting factor to the enlargement of trade was the customs duties (*zakat*) and tolls levied on goods in transit from the place of production to the place of consumption.[67] By the end of the 19th century both internal trade and foreign trade suffered a steep decline. There were many causes that brought about the decline; but the main cause was lack of peace in the land.[68]

The economic miseries of India simultaneously with the establishment of British rule coincided with the Industrial Revolution in Britain. The Indian cotton industry was hard hit by the loss of the English market due to the prohibition since the beginning of the 18th century of the import of Indian calicoes and silk, and by the discouragement of the East India Company of the manufacture of cloth goods of high counts and silk fabrics in India.[69] The pathetic condition of the weavers of the Madras Presidency as a result of the oppressive policies adopted by the East India Company, can be understood from the following observation made in 1816 by Abbē Dubois, who spent many years as a missionary :

> " This revolution [the invention of industrial development in England] threatens to ruin India completely. Just before returning to Europe I travelled through some of the manufacturing districts and nothing could equal the state of desolation prevailing in them. All the workrooms were closed and hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants composing the weaver caste, were dying of hunger; for through the prejudices of the country they could not adopt another profession without dishonouring themselves ".[70]

The Charter Act of 1813, put an end to the monopoly of the East India Company in Indian trade except in tea and, trade in all other commodities was thrown open to all British subjects.[71]

---

66. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Maratha Supremacy,*, (Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1977), p. 767. Hereafter cited as *The Maratha Supremacy.*
67. *Ibid,*
68. *Ibid.*, p. 769.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 770.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 778–779.
71. R. Sathianathier, *History of India,* vol. III, p. 301.

The Charter Act of 1833, abolished altogether the mercantile character of the Company which had closed most of its factories and also considerably reduced its trade operations. The way was paved for private British capital and enterprise to exploit unhindered, without the licence system, the resources of India that was already "reduced from the state of manufacturing to that of an agricultural country".[72] British interest in India came to be focussed towards the export of raw materials from India, such as cotton, silk, hides, oil seeds, dye stuffs and jute which were essential for the progress of British manufacturers.[73]

Indian shipping industry was also ruined first by the Portuguese, then by Dutch and English rivalry in the Asiatic seas, and Indian trade by differential trade monopoly and extraordinary privileges at home in favour of the European factors and merchants who obtained special privileges from the Indian rulers and misused them. From 1813 onwards various discriminatory import duties were imposed against non-British Indian ships visiting the ports of England that was most injurious to Indian shipping and ship-building.[74]

In 1814, the British Parliament enacted that no ship, even though British, can enter London that has not on board 3/5 of crew of British mariners.[75] In the beginning of the 19th century, Calcutta, Daman, Surat, Bombay and Pegu were the major ship-building centres. Between 1781 and 1813, 181 vessels were built on the Hughli alone and their tonnage amounted to 83,246. But the industry suffered a decline as a result of discriminating legislation.[76]

The political subjugation of India not only led to the strangulation of India's European trade, but at home she was left completely at the mercy of English merchants who dumped British cotton piece-goods without payment of any duty. The displacement of Indian shipping by the British also led to the loss of her near markets in Africa, Arabia, Persia, Indian Archipelago and further East that had for centuries depended upon her handloom cloth.[77]

When the British goods flooded Indian market, and threatend wholesale destruction of Indian manufactures, the rulers did not take any step to prevent the catastrophe. As several Englishmen have pointed out, " free trade and refusal to levy protective duties against machine-made goods of Britain ruined Indian manufacturers".[78]

" British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindustan, the union between agricultural and manufacturing industry ".[79] The decline of

72. *The Maratha Supremacy*, p. 779.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*, p. 794.
78. *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, I. p. 413.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

manufacturing industries tremendously upset the whole basis of the Indian village economy. Hundreds of weavers, spinners, tanners, smelters, smiths and other artisans were thrown out of employment.[80] Almost all peasant families were directly or indirectly or partially engaged in one kind or another of manufacturing industries.The openings for peasant families to supplement their meagre income from land by spinning or the like were now closed. The only occupation left to the peasants or village artisans was agricultural pursuits. But agricultural labour was also periodic and therefore due to the economic law of demand and supply the rate of wages of agricultural labourers was also at subsistence level and often below it - on the starvation level. These agricultural labourers who swelled the rank year after year created a ready field for colonial emigration.

## 5. FAMINE AS A PUSH FACTOR

India has been often subjected to horrors and devastations of famine. Natural causes such as failure of monsoon rains, droughts, floods, hail-storms, crop diseases and locusts have been mainly responsible for the outbreak of famines. But such other factors such as official apathy, heavy burden of taxation, unfair land revenue policy and general poverty of the masses have also aggravated their stings. Men's cruelties have often combined with nature's freaks to aggravate the frightful sufferings of the people.[81]

The tide of emigration fluctuated between periods of prosperity and famine. During the 19th century agricultural operations in India were almost totally dependent on nature. The ordinary ryots could hardly keep any surplus grain for the next year after meeting so many requirements. The pathetic condition of an agricultural labour is beyond description in time of scarcity or famine. The emigration operation got a boost in those years. The Census Report of 1901 described the effects of famine in the following words:

> "In a country like India where two-thirds of the people depended on agriculture, crop failure or natural calamities lead the peasants to ruin. The persons mainly affected by famine are the landless labourers ;... the labouring classes live from hand to mouth and on the advent of famine are deprived at once of the means of employment on which they chiefly depend ".[82]

An analysis of emigration operations during the years of famine compared with the preceding and following years will prove this fact. Between 1858 and 1900 more than 20 famines occurred in British India. In 1866-67, a famine broke out, which is known as the Orissa Famine, as its effects were most dreadful in Orissa. It affected different parts of the east coast from Calcutta to Madras. During this famine "scarcity and high prices of food drove large number of

80. Besides cloth manufacture, many other industries were badly affected. The Indian iron-smelting industry was practically stamped out by cheap imported iron and steel. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 828.

82. The Census Report, 1901, pp. 85-86, cited in *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 71.

men with their families from their homes and the recruiters taking advantages of the necessity, had sent such people down in large numbers to Calcutta ".[83]

During the famine years of 1868-69, the largest number of emigrants were recruited from Bengal. It is a fact that the series of famines which occurred in India in the 19th century since the 1860's decreased the pressure of population to some extent due to the resultant loss of life. But at the same time famines resulted in the further enslavement of the peasants to the landlords or moneylenders, eviction and pauperisation. When famine breaks out in Indian villages, it is not only the land that is mortgaged or sold, the cattle and other movable properties are also disposed of, and when these resources are exhausted, the people usually desert their villages in search of employment and food. Therefore it is evident why the recruitment of colonial emigrants was high during the years of scarcity and famines. The pattern is the same both in north and south India during the famine years.[84]

## 6. THE REVOLT OF 1857

During the first phase of emigration (1834-1860), the main recruiting ground of emigrants was the tribal areas of the Bengal Presidency.[85] When the demand for Indian labour began to increase, the recruiting operation was pushed westward into the Hindi speaking zones of Bihar and modern Uttar Pradesh. The recruiting ground was further pushed westward during the second phase of emigration (1861-1900).[86] The shifting of recruiting operations was a gradual process after the annexation of Oudh in 1856, and the suppression of the Indian revolt. The districts of present Uttar Pradesh soon exceeded the Bengal Presidency in the total number of emigrants.

The Revolt of 1857-58 indirectly worked as a catalyst to emigration, particularly among a considerable number of high-caste Hindus in those troubled years. During the three preceding years of the Revolt there was a steep fall in the number of emigrants through the port of Calcutta.[87] But suddenly it shot up in 1858. During the eighteen months from March 1858 to August 1859, first it rose to more than double, and particularly in the last six months of that period it rose by more than three times.[88]

83. Source: Gen. Dept. (Emig.), July 1866, No. 26, cited in *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

84. See Appendix A. The number of Emigrants from Madras Presidency during the famine years 1876-77, 1877-78 and 1878-79, recorded an all-time high.

85. *Emigration of Indian Labour*, p. 28.

86. *Ibid.*, p.29.

87.

| Year | Emigrants |
|---|---|
| 1854-55 | 8826 |
| 1855-56 | 7995 |
| 1856-57 | 3356 |

Source: Gen. Dept. (Emig.), September 1859, No. 7, cited in *Ibid*, p.75.

88.

| | |
|---|---|
| March to August 1858 | ... 9951 |
| September 1858 to Feb. 1859 | ... 9692 |
| March to August 1859 | ... 14062 |

*Ibid.*, p. 76.

The steep rise in the embarkation of emigrants through the port of Calcutta, drew the attention of the Governor General in Council, who wanted to know from the Lt. Governor of Bengal, the chief causes of this sudden increase in emigration.[89] The Officiating Emigration Agent of Calcutta in his report to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal attributed three reasons for this sudden spurt in emigration. First, the licence given to private agents to collect emigrants from the interior; secondly, the 'unsettled condition' of the country; and thirdly, increasing popularity of emigration – were the three main reasons for the steep rise in emigration.[90]

The riot-torn parts of Bihar during the Revolt were Shahabad, Gaya and Patna. Of the three districts, Shahabad was the main centre of the Revolt in Bihar. A large number of sepoys of the Bengal Army were recruited from that district among the high-caste Hindus. It is said that among the emigrants a large proportion comprising high-caste Hindus from Shahabad district was not recruited by the agents but they volunteered to the emigration depots.[91]

It seems that these higher-caste Hindus were none other than the disbanded native army who were denied a job in the British Indian Army which was the only honourable profession known to them.[92] Among them, there were also many mutineers who voluntarily emigrated to escape punishment of compulsory deportation to Port Blair.[93]

## 7. SPIRIT OF ADVENTURE

It is clearly evident that during the years of famine colonial emigration was heavy. When there was a bumper or sufficient harvest as a result of good monsoon rains, it was very difficult for the agents to enroll sufficient number of labourers and very few of the requisite number of women emigrants. It is quite correct to assume that the people "will not quit their villages so long as they have a sufficiency in their own country".[94] While it was generally true that economic pressure was the prime motive force for the movement of population within the country or outside, yet some other factors cannot be neglected altogether.

The living conditions of the population of many districts of Bihar and the then United Provinces were more or less the same. Yet we find that emigration was more popular in Shahabad or Chhotanagpur districts than in other districts. This trend cannot be fully explained merely in economic terms. It appears,

89. *Ibid.*

90. *Ibid.*

91. The Officiating Emigration Agent of Calcutta referred to the "unsettled condition of the country, about Patna, Shahabad and Gaya, especially during the last year [1858] when large bodies of a (physically) superior class of people crowded into the Depots unaided and offered to emigrate, representing that they were reluctantly driven to such a course from absolute want arising from the difficulty in obtaining employment in their own country". Source : Gen. Dept. (Emig.), 20 October 1859, No. 23, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 76.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

93. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

94. Source : Gen. Dept. (Emig.), 24 March 1847, No. 4, Enclosure, cited in *Ibid.*, p. 74.

the reason for this phenomenon lies at least partially in the nature of the population.

The Bhojpuri-speaking population of Shahabad had a more adventurous spirit than any other people in Bihar, " each man ready to carve his fortune out of any opportunity which may present itself to him", as pointed out by Grierson. " As fond as an Irishman is of a stick, the long-boned stalwart Bhojpuri, with his staff in hand is a familiar object striding over fields far from his home. Thousands of them have emigrated to British colonies and have returned rich men". [95]

The returned emigrants with handsome fortunes could induce others to follow in their footsteps. At least, a knowledge of their fortunes was sufficient in itself to encourage emigration among the relatives and friends who were eking out a hand to mouth existence. The returned emigrants in that district frequently returned again to the colony taking with them numerous friends and relatives.[96] It appears, therefore, that the natural desire of improving their conditions was the motive which induced many adventurous people to emigrate, but with a mind to return whenever they could.[97]

## CONCLUSION

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the factors of emigration of indentured Indian labourers to the sugar plantation colonies in the nineteenth century were complex and varied. The prime factor was the emancipation of slaves in the British Empire which created special problems for planters in the West Indies, British Guiana, Mauritius, Fiji and Natal. The lack of labour was hindering the development of the sugar industry and in many cases threatened to ruin planters and plantations. Efforts to recruit indentured labour were directed to India and at once it became a source of steady and continuous supply of labour.

The appalling condition of the agricultural labourers at the bottom of the caste hierarchy in rural areas drove them to regard emigration as a haven for their sufferings. The poverty and misery of the cultivators were increased by the heavy land tax imposed by the British authorities in the territories brought under their control. The ruin of rural industry in India, brought about by the British rule and the Industrial Revolution in Britain, had rendered thousands of Indian artisans destitutes without any means of livelihood. The cumulative effect of these factors was seen in the recurring famines during the nineteenth century. As a consequence emigration was heavy during the years of famine or semi-famine. An incidental cause of emigration was the great revolt of 1857. A spirit of adventure was another factor, particularly when emigration gained momentum.

---

95. *Ibid.*,

96.

| Year | No. of old emigrants returning to Mauritius | No. of new labourers collected by old emigrants |
|---|---|---|
| 1858 | 810 | 14,702 |
| 1859 | 873 | 10,393 |
| 1860 | 135 | 1,811 |

Source : Gen. Dep. (Emig.), December 1860, No. 50, cited in *Ibid*.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

APPENDIX A:

## Countries supplied by total Emigration from Madras Presidency

| Serial Number | Countries | 1874-75 | 1875-76 | 1876-77 | 1877-78 | 1878-79 | 1879-80 | 1880-81 | 1881-82 | 1882-83 | 1883-84 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | To | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | Mauritius and Bourbon (Reunion) | 5,844 | 2,507 | 2,525 | 3,697 | 3,697 | 6,548 | 3,192 | 996 | 2,598 | 2,322 |
| 2 | Ceylon | 17,227 | 87,509 | 1,84,919 | 99,146 | 99,146 | 63,344 | 43,292 | 46,594 | 45,055 | 35,292 |
| 3 | British Burmah | 2,964 | 3,118 | 2,628 | 7,337 | 7,337 | 10,377 | 6,682 | 8,020 | 22,075 | 12,659 |
| 4 | West Indies | 3,043 | 908 | 2,881 | 105 | 105 | 3,147 | 2,733 | 640 | 796 | 931 |
| 5 | Other places | 3,614 | 4,216 | — | 6,863 | — | 4,970 | 5,284 | — | 6 | — |
| 6 | Natal | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,763 | 1,358 | 1,532 |
| 7 | Guadaloupe | — | — | 4,993 | — | 6,863 | — | — | 322 | 671 | 784 |
| 8 | Sylhet and Cachar | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 206 | — |
| 9 | Akyab | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 113 | — |
| 10 | Demerara | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 93 | 150 |
| 11 | Martinique | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 536 | 261 | 368 |
| 12 | Straits Settlements | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1,074 | 1,759 | 1,803 |
| 13 | Trinidad | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 65 |
| 14 | Surinam | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 204 |
| | TOTAL ... | 32,692 | 98,258 | 1,97,946 | 1,17,148 | 1,17,148 | 88,386 | 61,183 | 59,945 | 74,991 | 56,110 |

Source: TNA. *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 507.

# The Analytical Psychology of Jung and the Agamic Psychology of Meykandar

K. LOGANATHA MUTTARAYAN

Carl C. Jung, the founder of analytical psychology, had a fascination for Eastern thinking and an understanding of it that comes as a pleasant surprise for an Eastern man. His penetration into the deeper layers of human mind through his studies of mythologies, religious practices art, and so forth both East and West is, to say the least, a remarkable intellectual achievement comparable to the best in the Indian philosophical—psychological tradition. The conceptual categories he has introduced and the theoretical framework he has erected certainly provide a framework that a modern man can use to gain an understanding of the mysteries of the human mind. Of course the East, and in particular the *Agamic/Tantric* tradition in India as well as outside has been doing similar sort of thing from time immemorial. They have developed a variety of Sadhanas, experienced the outcomes (*payaṉ*) of these Sadhanas and reflected upon the Structure of Reality, the nature of the creatures and so forth to account for the experienced connections between the Sadhanas and outcomes. This long and ancient tradition in India, coeval with the beginnings of civilization itself finds its clearest and admirably logical formalization in the work of Meykandar (13th century). In *Sivajnānabōdam* of Meykandar we find the divisions 'potuvatikāram' and 'ciṟappatikāram' with the former subdivided into 'piramāṇaviyal' and 'ilakaṇaviyal' and the latter into 'cātaṉaviyal' and 'payaṉiyal'. The potuvatikāram deals with matters pertaining to the ontological, epistemological issues. The 'piramāṇaviyal' discusses the ontological issues from premises that are universally acceptable, and establishes the logically necessary and irreducible categories of objects for an adequate explanation of the objective, phenomenal world. The 'Ilakkaṇaviyal' takes the discussions further and establishes the essential functional characteristics of the different categories of objects established earlier. The cātaṉaviyal deals with the practices, exercises, in short the psychotechniques that are adequate and necessary from the point of view of categories of objects and their essential functional attributes established earlier. The section on 'payaṉiyal' deals with the outcomes, results and so forth i.e. the nature of self-knowledge that is attained through these Sadhanas. The text as a whole thus, reveals a clear grasp of the formal structure of the behavioural sciences, the clearest at any rate in the long intellectual history of India and perhaps also the world.

There is also another feature of Saiva Siddhanta tradition that clearly establishes the scientific character of the endeavour. The earlier agamic texts (including jnānamirtham) that were

divided into cariyai, kriyai, yōgam and jnānam were descriptions of psycho-techniques deemed universally applicable. Under jnānam we have descriptions and discussions of universally valid aspects of human (and animal) behaviour, states of consciousness, techniques for attaining the different states of consciousness and so forth. We do not find any reference to individuals or their experiences as the phenomena that requires the theoretical concepts introduced. Saiva Siddhanta departs from all these. The life histories of the nāyanmārs, the god-possessed baktās of Siva and in particular critical instances in their life (as described for example in Periapurāṇam) were taken as the data, the phenomena that needed an explanation. The earlier texts in Saiva Siddhanta tradition 'Tiruvunthiyār' and 'Tirukaḷiṟṟupaṭiyār' (12th century) make continuous reference to the critical instances in the life of the nāyanmārs. The focus of analysis has not been the literary outpourings of the nāyanmārs (as it has been in the vaishnava tradition in the Tamil country) but rather the *life or the critical incidences in the life* of the nāyanmārs. The records of the biographies of the nāyanmārs served a function very similar to case histories of patients in modern psychoanalysis.

Kallāṭaṉar (10th century) very clearly formulated this intellectual temper, the scientific orientation as 'ulakiyal kūṟi poruḷial uraittal' — establishing the nature of subjects after a naturalistic/scientific study of their behaviour and functional characteristics. (Kallāṭam, Ceyyuḷ 13) Though this remark was made with reference to *Thirukuṟaḷ*, it is clear that at about the time he wrote these lines there must have been considerable thinking about *methodological* issues that culminated in the birth of Saiva Siddhanta and along with it behavioural science proper in the long intellectual history of man. An offshoot of this was the birth of medical science that goes by the name of 'Siddha Vaidhyam'. An unbiased examination of the original texts of the master Siddhas reveals an impressive scientific spirit pervading throughout the whole tradition.

All these are meant as preliminary remarks to indicate that a comparative study of Saiva Siddhanta and the analytical psychology of Jung is not a misplaced enterprise. Both are psychological systems in the narrow sense, teachings of ways of life (neṟi, mārkkam, camayam) in the broader sense. Jungian psychology is also chosen not alone because it represents the most profound psychological system that the West has produced so far but also because there are remarkable convergences in thought, in principles and formulations of the nature of human mind. Jung talks of the *psyche*, as a substantive entity, complex in itself and retaining identity in the evolutionary process without reference to which human (and animal) behaviour cannot be adequately explained. This is similar to the concept of pasu (or ānma) in Saiva Siddhanta, one of the three ultimate, irreducible object categories, uncreated and indestructible, complex in itself and the agent of the actions of the creatures. Jung also talks about archetypes (also called primordial images, Gestalts, etc.) that influence the psychic functions of man (and animal) in important ways.

This seems to correspond to Siddhantic concept of *murthi* (also termed uru, peruvaṭivu, arulvaṭivu, etc.) which are also taken as important in shaping human behaviour. Corresponding to the characteristically Jungian personal and Collective Unconscious, we have the doctrines of different types of Karma and Siva-Sakti. In view of these essential correspondences a question arises as to whether these two systems, despite differences at the surface level, are in fact one basically. The studies being reported in this paper reveal that Jungian psychology though in line with the basic orientation of Saiva Siddhanta but is not as well developed as Saiva Siddhanta with an array of adequately differentiated basic categories. It appears to me that the important distinction between karma and pathi is obfuscated by Jung and lumped together under the very general Collective Unconscious. Lack of these distinctions lead to a somewhat different conceptions of what constitute self-realization and so forth. We shall now attend to these correspondences and differences in greater detail.

**The Jungian System:**

We shall begin with a brief account of the essentials of the Jungian system.

Perhaps the most original and distinct contribution of Jung is the postulate of an entity 'Collective Unconscious' (CU) as distinct from 'Personal Unconscious' (PU) that Freud introduced through his studies of dreams and the psychopathology of everyday life. The Ego is that part of the *psyche* concerned with adapting itself to the perceived external social and material circumstances. But the psyche is larger than the Ego and contains an enormous hidden content that bursts into consciousness in dreams, fantasies, visions and so forth. These hidden contents are termed *unconscious* in the sense that though part of the psyche, the psyche is not aware of them under normal circumstances Jung divides this submerged part into the PU and CU on the basis of a variety of empirical studies. The PU is the 'forgotten, repressed, subliminally perceived, thought, and felt matter of every kind' (cf. J. Jacobi, p. 6) and, we should add, from the time of birth. It contains the infantile memories repressed and forgotten but which later emerge in consciousness causing different types of psychological disorders. This PU of Jung is thus, not materially different from the *unconscious* that Freud introduced into psychology. While the PU contains psychic elements become unconscious either due to withdrawal of consciousness or not having enough intensity to gain access to consciousness, the CU is however materially different—it contains psychic elements that are 'the ancestral heritage of possibilities of representation' *common* to all men. It is a deeper layer, deeper than PU and also the *true* basis of the individual psyche.

What led Jung to postulate the CU is the discovery from empirical studies of fantasies, visions and dreams of normal and abnormal people, motifs and themes strikingly similar to the contents of ancient and primitive mythologies, religious cults and so forth. To account for these similarities, he reasoned, there

must be a deeper content of the Unconscious which is objective, impersonal and ubiquitous (hence, the name *Collective*). The primary mode in which the CU reveals itself is in the form of mythological motifs or primordial images, something like the Ideas of Plato. The term archetype is used as a technical term to describe these recurrent primordial images that is said to influence the human behaviour in all its forms.

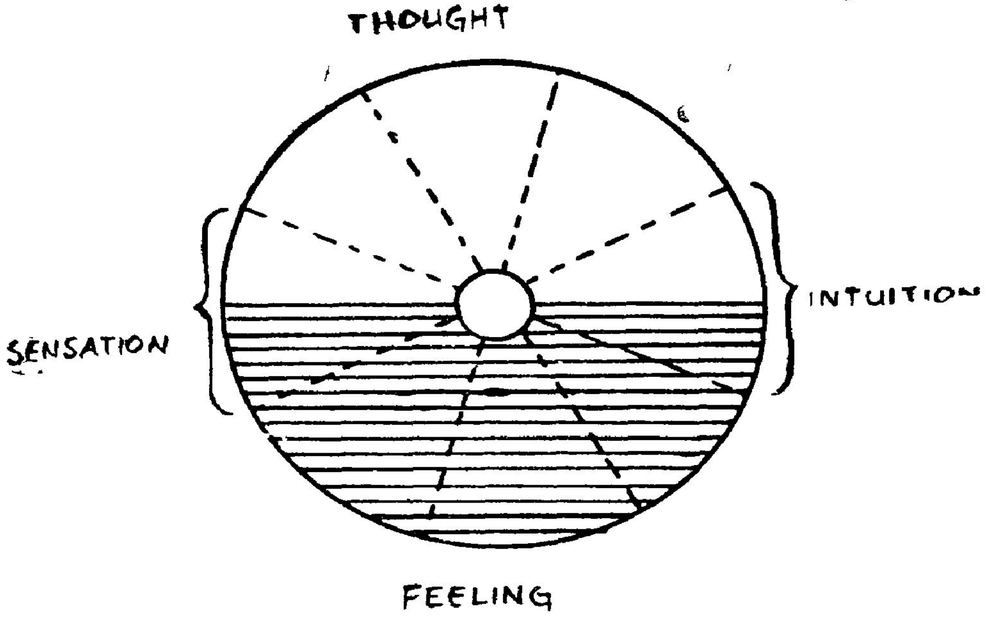
Before we consider the concept of archetype more extensively and compare it with the concept of *mūrttam* in Saiva Siddhanta, it is best to consider another significant aspect of Jungian system *viz.*, the analysis of the basic psychic functions.

**a. The Psychic Functions**

Jung identifies thinking, feeling, intuition and sensation as the four basic psychological functions. The psychological function is understood as a 'form of psychic activity that remains theoretically the same under varying circumstances and is completely independent of its momentary contents' (cf, J. Jacobi, p. 9).

Consciousness through sense perception reveals the *existence* of the world but does not tell us what it is. Seeing what it is that is sensed as an existent constitute for him an apperceptive process is identified as *cognitive,* arising from *thinking* as such. Associated with this apperception is what he calls a 'feeling-tone' that implies evaluation of some sort.

An object is now seen positively as pleasant, desirable and beautiful or negatively as unpleasant, disgusting, ugle and so forth. In addition to these, he also recognises another, the 'intuitivy process' as distinct from the above. Intuition is said to be a basic function of the psyche and consists in perceiving 'the possibilities inherent in a situation'. His theory of psychological types considered a major contribution towards a better understanding of human personality, rests upon the four different psychic functions identified as above. Following J. Jacobi, we can represent the psychic functions and how they stand in relation to the different levels of consciousness as in diagram I.



Thinking and Feeling are characterized as *rational* in the sense that they are judgements, evaluations and so forth with respect to certain *norms.* Thinking proceeds on the basis of logical consistency, correctness or incorrectness, true or false and so forth. Feeling proceeds on the basis of right or wrong, agreeable or disagreeable and so forth.

Sensation and Intuition, on the other hand, are termed non-rational psychic functions in the sense that they are non-divisive or discursive with respect to some kind of norms. They are akin to opening doors, avenues for gaining entry into different realms of reality. Sensation reveals the non-apperceptive awareness of an external world of stimuli that affect the sense organs. It is the sense of reality *par excellence.* As opposed to the external, objective and material reality accessible as a common source to all, is a deeper reality equally objective but not accessible through sensory channels alone. It is a perception of possibility *inherent* in a situation that is sensed, the deeper significance, meaning of what is seen. Such a perception is akin to prophetic visions and is termed by Jung as Intuition.

All these psychic functions are present in a person but to varying degrees of dominance. The dominant psychic function determines what psychological type he is, the characteristic manner he is likely to behave and so forth. It also determines the characteristic manner in which he will react under circumstances leading to psychological disorders.

A normal man is one who selects *one* of these psychic functions and adapts himself to it. When the contents of the Unconscious burst into consciousness during some subliminal or unusual states of awareness, the different psychological types will react to this rather differently determining the kind of abnormal behaviour he will have. Jung identifies the healthy man, the complete man as one who is *aware* of all these four different psychic functions inherent in him. Such a person would perceive an object objectively *i.e.* see as it is, without any projections gain access to its deeper, underlying significance and have a comprehensive view about it, evaluate it appropriately and behave towards it in a manner suitable, correct and so forth. Psychological growth is seen by Jung as gaining mastery over all the four psychological functions. Instead of being a particular type with one only of the four dominant, the developed person should be capable of all four equally. The goal of psychotherapy is seen essentially as an endeavour to bring about this, freeing man from the clutches of one dominant psychic function and making him capable of all. It is expanding his present psychic capacities to include all possible psychic functions so that his perceptions, cognitions and consciousness is better differentiated and discriminated.

Jung has written volumes on psychological functions and personality structure. His characterization of psychological types into extroverts, introverts, neurotics and so forth have gained wide currency. We shall stop our discussion of these matters with the above brief account as there is a plan to deal with it more extensively at some other time. Since of immediate interest to the present

study are the concepts of CU and archetype, we shall now consider their central characteristics with the view to comparing them with similar notions in Saiva Siddhanta.

**b. Archetypes**

As already mentioned earlier, archetypes are great 'primordial' images, 'the *inherited* powers of human imagination as it was from time immemorial' (c.w. vol. 7, page 64). The archetypes are also described as 'thought-forms' of humanity and are as much feelings as thoughts (*ibid.* page 65). Also it is stated that the greatest and best thoughts of man shape themselves upon these primordial images 'as upon a blue print'.

With respect to the *origin* of these archetypes Jung asserts that they are 'deposits of the constantly repeated experiences of humanity' (*ibid.* page 68). The archetpe is a kind of readiness to produce repeatedly the same or similar mythological motifs. They are subjective fantasy-ideas activated in the unconscious by the recurrent physical processes. This kind of thinking about the origins of archetypes also leads him to say that it is possible for archetypes to exist even in animals. The archetypes are grounded in the species characteristics of the animals themselves and are therefore 'direct expressions of life whose nature cannot be further explained' (*ibid.* page 69). They emerge into human consciousness during dreams and similar states of consciousness when the cognitive and intellectual activity of the human mind are dulled. 'The images appear, when the psychic energy regresses and goes *beyond* the period of early infancy and breaks into the legacy of the ancestral life' (*ibid.* page 76). In an interesting note to this observation Jung mentions that he is deliberately extending the archetype by means of *karmic* factor and that the karma aspect is essential to a deeper understanding of the nature of the archetype. But unfortunately he does not develop the theme and it is not also clear what concept of karma he had in mind. However, this brief remark of Jung is extremely useful for it indicates that the Collective Unconscious is to be related to the *Karma* either Sanjitha, Praartha or Agamiya. This issue will be taken up later.

The view that archetypes are ancestral images deposited in the deep recesses of human (and animal) psyches may lead us to view them as passive factors without any potency for regulating behaviour. But this view is mistaken as the empirical studies would reveal. The archetypes act as *agents* that lead to experiencing reality repeatedly within these primordial motifs They *fascinate* the human mind in a profound way or *impel them to action.* By studying the *transference* phenomena where an individual projects onto an object or a person an archetypical image (*e g.* the doctor as a saviour, father, lover and so forth). Jung discovered that archetypes behave like highly charged autonomous centres of power. They take possession of the human mind and alter the subject profoundly. The subject sees the other as the embodiment of the archetype projected onto him and behaves towards him as the projected archetype dictates. The contents of the collected unconscious

are projected onto him-he loses his individuality as a person and in the eyes of the subject he is a God, a hero or a devil depending upon the archetype projected. Jung traces the onset of neuroses, schizophrenia and such mental disorders to such archetypical projections of the subjects. Part of the psychiatric treatment consists in leading the subject to dissociate himself from the archetypes and see them as an objective reality distinct from himself but with which he has identified himself till then. The subject must liberate himself from the clutches of the Collective Unconscious and perceive them as 'that which is not'. (*ibid.* page 72)

**c. The Archetype of Self**

There are different types of archetypes. Though we do not find an extensive classificatory scheme employed by Jung, a broad hierarchical organization is noticeable. The gods and goddesses, nymphs, fairies, devils, witches, heroes, the asuras and so forth are one class of archetype As against all these is the archetype of Self, the central archetype or the archetype of Wholeness. Just as the Ego is the organizing centre of conscious contents of psychic life, the Self becomes the organizing centre of the contents of the Collective Unconscious *i.e.*, the archetypes that are ancestral heritages. As Edward F. Edinger (1973) interprets it, the Ego is the seat of *subjective* identity while the Self is the seat of *objective identity*. The Self is the supreme psychic authority and controls even the Ego. It is a major discovery of Jung that the Self - the Imago Dei, the inner deity in every creature, reveals itself in some typical symbolic images that in the agamic tradition is known as mandalas. The mandalas predominate in the agamic traditions where the temples, stupas, viharas and the various yantras used for meditative practices are forms of it. Jung, through an extensive study of world religious literature, art and architecture medieval alchemical texts found mandalas as a ubuiquitous phenomenon revealing the symbolic presence of the Self. Jung sees Christ as the archetype of the self. Christ is the true image of God, after whose likeness our inner man is made; He is invisible, incorporeal, incorrupt, immortal, the embodiment of all that is divine. The Christ is also a glorified man, a son of God sine macula peccati, unspoted by sin. (c.w. volume 9, part II, page 70). The God–image in us reveals itself through 'prudentia, institia, moderatio, virtuo, supienta et disciplina'.

It must also be mentioned that Christ that Jung talks about is not the Christ of Christian theologians. The Christ of the Church 'lacks wholeness in the modern psychological sense, since it does not include the dark side of things but specifically excludes it in the form of a Luciferian opponent' (*ibid.* page 70). The complete integrated self is both Christ and anti-Christ, light and darkness, good and evil. We cannot separate the kingdom of heaven from the fiery world of the damned. The archetypical self cannot be without the shadow that belongs to the light and without this it would lack body and humanity. The

self is a *complexio oppositorum* for there can be no reality without polarity.

> "*We must not overlook the fact that opposites acquire their moral accentuation only within the sphere of human endeavour and action, and that we are unable to give a definition of good and evil; that would be considered universally. It must therefore, be supposed that they spring from a need of human consciousness outside the human sphere.*" (*ibid.* page 266)

As we have already seen earlier the Ego in western psychology is the center of conscious personality and hence, a part of the total psyche. The Self, on the other hand, is the most expanded Ego, an entity that has gained control or has it as elements of its consciousness the totality of the psychic contents. There is always a dynamic relationship between the Ego and Self, separating and uniting alternatively (E Edinger, page 5). This state of affairs presumably exists only as long as there are contents of Unconscious still not brought to the light of consciousness. When this happens, the distinction between the Ego and Self does not exist anymore. As Edinger observes, 'the conception of the Self is a paradox. It is simultaneously the center and the circumference of the circle of totality. Considering Ego and Self as two separate entities is merely a necessary rational device for discussing these things'. (*ibid,* page 6).

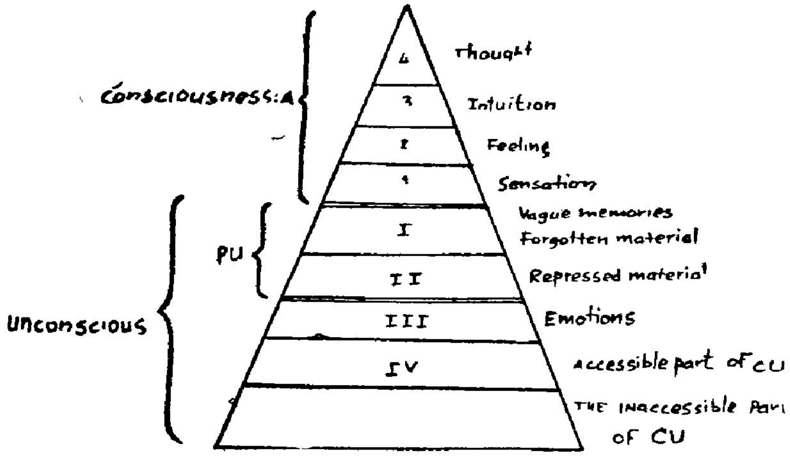
Before we close our discussion of Jung's concept of archetype, it is necessary to point out a distinction tha he draws between the archetype in itself and *form* of an archetype. The archetype is the image, a content of deeper recesses of the human mind, a complex of many personal and transpersonal elements that powerfully channel the psychic functions of man. When we abstract from this the pure structure, the pure form, the organization in itself of which the particular archetype is an expression then we have the Archetypical Form. "The form of these archetypes" observes Jung, is perhaps comparable to the axial system of a crystal, which predetermines as it were the crystalline formation in the saturated solution without itself possessing a material existence. This existence first manifests itself in the way the ions and then the molecules arrange themselves ...... The axial system determines, accordingly, merely the stereometric structure, not, however, the concrete form of the individual crystal, ... and just so the archetype possesses ... an invariable core of meaning that determines its manner of appearing always only in principle, never concretely" (*Cf,* J. Jacobi, page 44). This rather illuminating analogy, interestingly enough has also been given by many Siddhas not alone to archetypes but also to many other objects. It also points to a striking similarity with the tantric concept of Bindu – the 'seed' of all *forms.* The Form of mother archetypes *i.e.* the Mother, is pure structure, pre – existent and the formative principle of every phenomenal expression of the motherly.

It is transpersonal, universal, invariant across time and space, an identical core of meaning whether man or woman, human or animal, primitive or developed, modern or ancient. This is the 'ambāi' – the Great Mother, the constant core of meaning across of myriads of manifestations, Durga, Uma, Saraswathy, Laxmi and so forth.

**d. The Collective Unconscious**

Jung relates the psychic structure and the psychic processes as follows :

The contents from this layer break into consciousness taking possession of the individuals, remain incomprehensible and difficult assimilate as an integral part of the conscious component of the psyche. This layer behaves like an Objective Psyche, wholly autonomous and impersonal. The contents are sediments from all the psyche's animal and human past, and they break into consciousness during dreams, hallucinations, visions and so forth. At the lowest lies the unfathomable, the completely inaccessible out of which the




(Adapted from J. Jacobi, page 30)

We have already mentioned that PU of Jung corresponds with the Freudian Unconscious. The CU which lies deeper is also differentiated into distinct layers. Immediately below the PU is that region of CU termed *emotions*, the regions of our emotions and affects over which it is not impossible to exercise a rational control. Of particular interest is the layer immediately lower, the accessible part of the Collective Unconscious. individuals psyches themselves are said to have differentiated.

"*This central force goes through all further differentiations and isolations, lives in them all, cuts through them to the individual psyche, as the only one that goes absolutely unchanged and undivided through all layers.*"

(Jacobi, page 32)

Following Freud, Jung also attaches special significance to dreams. A psyche gains access to the contents of the Unconscious during dreams and such similar states. The dream contents are outside causal organization, outisde also spatio-temporal co-ordination. Their language is also different; it is archaic, symbolic, pre-logical. Special methods of interpretation are required to understand their significance.

So much for the bare essentials of the Jungian system. We shall now turn our attention to Saiva Siddhanta and the manner in which it is similar or different.

**The Siddhantic System**

Right at the outset it must be mentioned that Saiva Siddhanta constitutes only one of the attempts within the tantric / agamic tradition that is coeval with the beginnings of civilization in India. This *tradition* includes Jainism, Buddhism, Vaishnavism Saktism and Saivism and their numerous variants. Each tradition represents a significant attempt of man to understand himself, the origins of his psychological miseries, traumas, distresses and thereby, devise a technology to obliviate them. The term in Tamil that comes closest to the meaning of religion is ' camayam ' which really means an organized way of life *or a system of percepts and practices* for the perfection of man. In this long and ancient tradition that has given its character and bent to the Indian culture, Saiva Siddhanta constitutes a significant departure in the rigour it introduced in the enterprise. It deparated from the other agamic traditions by taking the concrete experiences of *real* individuals who were isolated as phenomenologically significant from the point of religious experience. The nayanmārs are not saints in the ordinary sense of the word; they are not all exemplars of ideal religious life. For among them are some who are violent, aggressive and perhaps positively cruel. But they are accorded the status of nayanmār for they too, like the others, people taken possession by God. *Their* behavioural peculiarities are as much facts of religious life as those of the others. Uyyavantha Devar, the initiator of this tradition used the agamic percepts in order to gain an understanding of both the violent, aggressive and benevolent and noble. Meykandar is of course the most brilliant in this tradition and his accomplishments constitute a milestone in the intellectual history of the world. A persistent neglect of the contributions of Meykandar to our understanding of man, will constitute a great loss to psychology. The intellectual history of Dravidian India was not the same since the advent of Meykandar and the tradition survives till today constituting the hard core of percepts around which the Dravidian culture revolves. The importance of Meykandar will emerge as we seriously attempt to compare and contrast his views with those of Jung, certainly one of the greatest modern psychologists.

We shall see presently that such Jungian categories as psyche, personal

unconscious, collective unconscious, archetypes and so forth have important parallels. There are also important differences of great significance to psychology.

**(a) The Psyche**

The pasu or ānma, an irreducible category of objects that has to be accepted as real for explaining the complexities of human behaviour closely parallels Jungian psyche. Meykandar adduces a number of prowerful arguments to repudiate the various views current at that time in India to do away with the psyche as a distinct category of objects. We can list them as follows:

(a) A person negates any positive identification of himself with any other object.

(b) A person perceives himself as distinct from the body and sees the body as one of his objects.

(c) While the five distinct senses provide sensory perceptions that are distinct, the person integrates them all and sees the object as a complete entity.

(d) A person is also conscious of the contents of dreams and such other subliminal states where the active functioning of the sense organs cease.

(e) A person can regress into deeper states of consciousness where even feelings whatsoever are not experienced. Even though they are dreamless states without any feelings arousing psychic content, a person can recall such an experience and feel that he was in such a state.

The above arguments are merely a summary of what Meykandar gives in the third sutra of Sivajnanabodam. Each argument is supported by a number of others and are designed to refute the various views held in India at that time against the postulate of an independent, autonomous psyche in the human (and animal) body to account for distinct features of the behaviour of living creatures. It will not be necessary to enter into the details here for Jung too, as we have seen, begins with similar assumptions. We have to consider an independent, autonomous psyche as the activator of the body, the agent of the mental processes and the experiencer of the various subliminal states of consciousness. The mind is not simply an epiphenomenon of material processes; neither is it simply an aggregate of internal cognitive processes. It is an independent reality having its own dynamics; in short, it is that which gives the 'living' character to living things. The psyche is the *uyir*, the life force of the living creatures.

So much for the similarity. There is also an important difference. While in the Jungian system the psyche is seen as something that has split off, separated or differentiated from the unfathomable and deepest CU, in Saiva Siddhanta it is taken to have no origination. The psyches are innumerable, and are anāti – beginningless eternal entities. Their history is not one of creation, transformation and annihilation but rather only of transformation and change. A

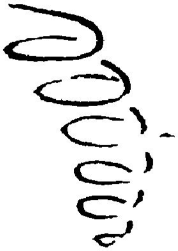
psyche's evolutionary history is a history of constitutional changes and the history ceases not with the annihilation or reabsorption of the entity itself but rather with the annihilation for the *need* for constitutional changes. However, it should be mentioned that there were other Saivites who held views very similar to Jung in this respect. The seventeenth century Sivaprakasar, one of most prolific and creative philosopher of his time and who initiated a variant of Vira Saiva system in the Tamil country, expresses a view very similar to Jung in his *Siddhanta Vikasam.* He takes the psyches to have originated from the primary source just like rays of light from the sun. Such a view will not be acceptable to Saiva Siddhanta for it goes against a basic axiom of the school: *What is, must have been; what is not, could not become.* The unreal, non-existent could not become real on whatever account. This principle is clearly a variant of the principle of conservation and any attempt to attribute origination or creation for an entity will violate this principle. If the psyche differentiated itself from the deepest Collective Unconscious, then *it must have been part of it* in some form or other, caused to differentiate itself and assume separate existence by itself or the CU for some reason or other. What we have is a new state of affairs and not new kinds of entities. Change is a transformation and *not* the creation of new kinds of entities that never existed before. In Saiva Siddhanta there is no place for such creative acts. There is no creator God.

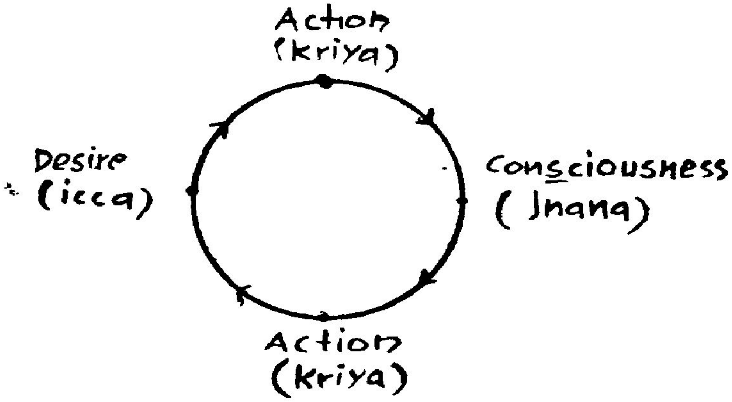
**(b) The Psychic Functions**

Having pointed out this difference, another difference, not unimportant for psychology, should also be pointed out. While Jung considers the essence of a psyche in terms of the four basic psychological functions, Meykandar views the matter rather differently; man is 'iccā-jnānań-kriya corūpi' i.e. the essence of a psyche is to be an agent of actions, effecting actions to satisfy some need or other guided by some form of consciousness oı knowledge. This is the *natural* disposition, the intrinsic, nature of all psyches. If a psyche has a complex constituent structure, and it is taken to be so, then it must be accounted for in terms of psyche's natural disposition to be an actor, the agent of a variety of actions. Such psychological functions as those enumerated by Jung are not repudiated but are not taken as primary. These and similar psychic processes are taken to be subordinate to the essential characteristic of a psyche to be an actor the doer of things.

In the evolution of the psyche, desiring something, doing something to achieve on the basis of some consciousness or other remain the process invariants. These are processes that have brought about the complex structure the psyche's have. The evolution of the psyche is a cyclic process that spirals up with each

loop having the same process invariants differing from each other only in complexity. We can represent it diagramatically as follows:






The perceptual and cognitive processes are subordinate to this — the sense of direction for them, the course of growth they have taken are conditioned by the actions that were in fact effected.

This, it must be pointed out, is not inconsistent with what Jung himself has said about the origins of knowledge and human consciousness. The difference seems to be merely a difference in focus.

The account of psychological functions given by Meykandar and his followers is not materially different from Jung though it seems to be much more refined. The *four* distinct kinds of perceptual processes are recognized — sensory perception (vāyir kātci), mental perception (mānatakātci), self-perception (tan vētanai-kātci) and yōgic perception (yōka-kātci). Arulnandi, the most brilliant student of Meykandar, defines them as follows:

Sense perception is the gaining of consciousness of the bare existents of phenomenal reality in itself, without any conceptual categories.

Mental perception is the cognition of the bare particulars revealed through the senses in terms of adequate and appropriate conceptual categories.

The self-perception is the gaining of consciousness about the psyche's own emotional reactions, feelings that are aroused within by the various cognitions and so forth.

The yogic perception is the gaining of a larger consciousness, deeper and more pervasive, beyond the spatio-temporal categories through such processes as meditation, breath control, recitation of mantras and so forth.

In addition to perception, Thinking in the broadest sense, Revelations as embodied in the sacred literature

(agamas) are also taken as valid sources or avenues to knowledge, the gaining of additional consciousness. By Thinking is meant the logical, the rational psychological processes that results in *efficient* knowledge and it does not differ materially from what Jung himself says about it. And except for Divine Revelations which interestingly enough is distinguished from yogic perception, Meykandar and Jung do not differ significantly in their characterisations of psychic functions. What we do not find in Saiva Siddhanta, however, is anything equivalent 'to Jung's theory of psychological types based on the idea of dominant psychic functions. It remains a desideratum in Saiva Siddhanta tradition until today.

The acceptance of Revelations as an independent source of knowledge in Saiva Siddhanta, distinguished quite clearly from gaining access to the deeper recesses of the human psyche through yogic practices, and its neglect in the Jungian system rests however, upon an important difference in the concept of Collective Unconscious in the two systems as we shall see shortly.

Before we pass over this comparison of the analysis of psychological functions in the two systems, another important distinction in the significance attached to these 'means' of knowledge should also be noted. In Siddhanta, Thinking and Perception as such provide knowledge of the phenomenal reality and they are not free of evaluations of some kind or other and in particular moralistic categorization. The *direction* for sensory perception, the conceptual categories evolved for acquiring a descriptively adequate and efficient knowledge of the phenomenal reality, feelings they arouse and so forth are co-ordinated to psyche's endeavour to effect various kinds of actions for the satiation of some lack in itself or a need. Since all actions have either directly or indirectly some moral overtones, ethical implications, the above types of knowledge are not devoid of moral evaluations. Each content is either puṇṇiyam or pāvam, morally right or wrong. In view of this, such knowledge is also said to be binding, they increase the bondage of the psyche to the phenomenal existence, the samsara. They contribute towards *increasing* the karma the hidden psychic contents and thereby, making the psyche more complex. As opposed to these are knowledge gained through yogic practices and by the study of revealed sacred literature. Such knowledge is liberating—it frees the psyches from the clutches of Unconscious and also from being one who increases the contents of the Unconscious.

The psyches whose endeavours are in this direction tend towards Nirvāna as opposed to samsāra. This categorization of psychic processes and its impact on the direction of development of the psyches, contains the nucleus of a new theory of psychological types, elements of which have already been developed in Saiva Siddhanta.

This analysis and categorization of the basic psychic processes raises a number of fundamental issues. Subsequent to Meykandar several schools of thought have arisen competing among themselves to provide appropriate solutions to these challenges.

One of the basic issues is with respect to the essential constitution of the psyches themselves. If the tendencies to Samsāra and Nirvāna are co-present in every psyche, how are they opposed to each other? Why do not all the psyches *do* only those which contribute towards the attainment of Nirvānā and avoid acts that bind them, weigh them down to an unending cycle of phenomenal existence?

The issue stated thus, ultimately comes down to seeking an account, a theory of the moralistic functioning of the psyches. The account Meykandar gives, enthroned as the central percept of Saiva Siddhanta school of thought, should be considered one of the most unique and profound in the intellectual history of man, raising the stature of Meykandar well beyond many internationally acknowledged leaders of thought. The most far reaching differences between Jung and Meykandar also emerge here.

Meykandar's theory is very cogently presented in the second chapter of his Sivajnanabodam *viz.*, ilakkaṇaviyal. Clearly he builds upon the earlier idea of three padārthās – three irreducible category of objects - the pasu, pathi and pāsam. However, to these he adds a significant contribution of his own *viz.*, the concept of psyche as a sat asat. We shall attend to these matters now.

We have already seen that in Siddhanta, the psyches are innumerable and uncreated, eternal entities. This does not mean that constitutionally there is no difference in the initial, intermediate and terminal states. All psyches are said to be initially completely dominated by an obstruent, an active blocking mechanism called aṇu or āṇavam. The psychic development, the evolutionary history of the psyche is seen essentially as a history of its endevours to liberate itself from the hold of aṇu on its psychological functions, and the constitutional changes, the direction of development such endeavours have taken the psyche to. The psycho-physical differences of the creatures, human and animal alike, are taken as symptoms or markers of the different courses of growth the psyches endeavours to rid themselves of the magical hold of aṇu, whose essential functional characteristic is to enslave the psyches to its magical hold. Aṇu is a real stuff, distinct from the psyche, uncreated and indestructible. It differentiates itself infinitely while remaining one and opposes every move of the psyche to liberate itself from its hold. The psyches or any other agent, cannot annihilate them, reduce them to non-existence, non-entities – they can only escape its dominance in their psychological functioning. If that is so, it may be asked, where do the psyches

dynamics to liberate themselves and attain complete freedom?

### (c) The Transcendental Collective Unconscious

Certainly the dynamics could not be derived from the Aṇu – it will be contradictory to its essential mode of functioning. Neither could it be some internal constituent of the psyches themselves for initially at least, they lack any interiority. Being dominated completely by Aṇu it will be impossible to generate within any dynamics in the opposite direction. For these and reasons similar to these, Meykandar postulates another independent reality, distinct from the psyches and Aṇu but in an intimate relationship with the psyche. This entity, the third of the three ultimate categories of objects, is *Pati* which resembles the unfathomable, the deepest core of the Collective Unconscious from which the psyches themselves are said to have differentiated in the Jungian system. We shall hence forth isolate this entity and call it Transcendental Collective Unconscious (TCU) as it will assume a special significance in this comparative study.

A point of great coincidence between these systems is in the delineation of the functional characteristics of TCU though they differ in an important way in their conceptualization or understanding of the essential characteristics of TCU. The TCU in Siddhanta is the source of the liberating dynamics, the source of what is termed the Arul Sakti. The Arul Sakti floods the psyches (sakti nipā-tam) transforming the psychodynamics so that it is on the whole in the direction of nirvāna. This it does through revealing a graduated series of archetypes that seize hold of the psyches and channel the psychical processes in the right direction - in the direction whereby the actions of the psyches are puṇṇiyam-morally right. Various technical terms are used to describe the archetype-mūrti, pēruru, pērvaṭivu, aru-uru and so forth. The *form* of archetypes is described as mūrttam or simply aru-vaṭivu. The coincidence in conception is indeed striking. However, there are important differences as well.

First of all the TCU is the *only source* of archetypes. All archetypes are emanations from TCU. They do not originate elsewhere though once originated they could be in some other layers of the psychic structure. The obstruent Aṇu or the psyches themselves do not originate or give birth to archetypes. All archetypes, whether leading to benevolent or destructive behaviours are equally *divine* in origin and function. All of them serve in some capacity to channel the psychic processes towards the attainment of Nirvāna. This carries the implication that TCU is structureless–it does not have a special region for the benevolent archetype and another for the malevolent or destructive. As a distinct entity, the TCU is devoid of structures or inner division. It is an integrated whole without any distinguishable parts. The TCU

remains one indivisible, without varying, without undergoing transformation. Tattuvaprakasar, one of the brilliant followers of Meykandar states this categorically and illustrates it in two revealing analogies. The cows are different but the milk deep in them is one ; the flame is one but its forms are many. (Tattvaprakasam, sutra. 24)

The observation that the archetypes emanating from TCU is a conditioned emergence of divine forms that take possession of the psyches determining their course of behaviour which eventually is for their own benefit carries the implication that TCU is *intelligent* and conscious of the requirements of each psyche. It is clearly stated in many texts of Siddhanta that while TCU is unconscious from the point of view of the psyches, in itself it is not unconscious of itself or anything outside itself. There is nothing that it is not conscious, there is nothing with which it is not. The TCU is sarvagñan – the all knowing entity. As Meykandar has explained the matter TCU is a *sat* - an entity that is *not* subject to changes in consciousness. Further more it is the only entity with this characteristics.

Tracing the origins of both the benevolent and malevolent archetypes to the same entity may seem contradictory. It may be suggested that generalizing from this, the dark as well as the light side of the psychic unconscious are to be located finally at TCU. And hence, TCU is the source of both the good and the evil, the morally right and the morally wrong.

The resolution of this dilemma in Saiva Siddhanta is unique and distinguishes it not alone from the Jungian system but also from all other systems in India as well as outside.

**4. The Moral and the Non-Moral :**

In Saiva Siddhanta, the malevolent, destructive aspect of behaviour is distinguished sharply from the evil, the immoral i.e. pāvam. As Uyyavanta Tēvar states it, whether it is melvinai i.e. kindly actions expressive of benevolence or valvinai, i.e. destructive actions both are equally divine in themselves – both are sivadharma. (Tirukaḷirruppaṭiyār, verses 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20). Ciruttoṇṭanāyanār killed his own son and cooked curry for a Saiva ascetic, Taṇṭicar chopped off the legs of his Brahmin father for defiling the offerings set aside for Siva, Arivaṭṭanāyanār cut his own throat and offered his own self for Siva. *Periapurāṇam* records many such instances of malevolent acts – acts performed worshipping Siva as Bairava – the Terrible. Such acts are taken as factual records of genuine religious experience and are accorded the same importance as the numerous acts of benevolence of the other Saiva nayanmārs. Saiva and Bairava, Siva and Rudra are two distinct forms of one and the same TCU. The acts of violence on themselves or others in such instances as these do not constitute *evil*

acts for a result of such acts, the above nāyanmārs managed a vision of Siva himself i.e TCU burst into their consciousness as an Integrated Wholeness in all its splendour.

The *evil* acts are not purely the destructive—they are considered as acts that do not contribute or take the psyches away from the course towards the attainment of liberation, nirvāna. They contribute towards the increased dominance of Aṇu in the psychic functions and hence, encourages regression into earlier stages of psychic development. The immoral acts maketh a man less of a man, and more of a beast; if already a beast then a lower kind of beast. The evil acts prevent what elsewhere has been called transcendence—the transformation of a psyche into a higher species

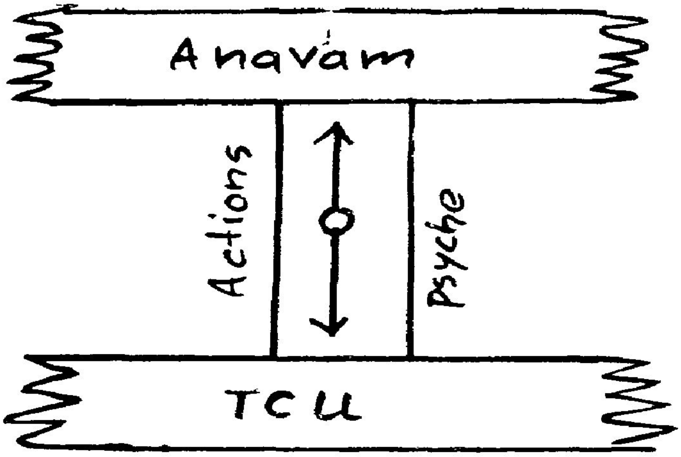
(K. Loganatha Muttarayan, 1982).

The Aṇu, the ultimate cause of the moral struggle of the psyche, should not be considered, on this account as a spirit – the Satan, the Devil and so forth. For Aṇu is not a spirit at all—it is inert (cēṭam), non-intelligent (acētanam) and indestructible though infinitely differentiable into innumerable kinds. Its natural tendency is to engulf the psyches. But this tendency too is a material tendency much like gravitation. On that account, it is completely impersonal.

If neither the Aṇu nor the TCU is the source of the moral sense, where are we to locate it? An obvious answer, in view of the characteristics of Aṇu and TCU delineated above, is that the moral sense originate in the psyches themselves. This may appear rather puzzling in view of the postulated ignorance of psyches with regard to what is right and wrong. We should note carefully that what the Siddhanta psychologists say is not that the psyches *know* what is good and evil but only that moral evaluations *originate* in the psyches. More specifically they emerge in the psychic centre called Buddhi-the centre where feelings and evaluations are located. Clearly judgements imply a normative criteria–a value or values against which judgements are made. Clearly also it is the acts whether bodily, linguistic or mental that are moral or immoral. Now such normative criteria cannot originate in Aṇu–an inert nonintelligent stuff. The psyches themselves could not generate them for if they do then they *ought to know* what is right and wrong. We are left then with TCU as the source of normative principles, the criteria or values that form the basis for the emergence of ethical feelings within the psyches. By providing the normative principles, appropriate archetypical images, and so forth, the TCU causes the emergence of moral feelings within the psyches. These feelings are intuited–become objects of mental perceptions and communicated as discoveries of a sort. They acquire an imperative force by virtue of the extra-psychic origins of such knowledge and the felt importance of it towards the progress of the psyches in the direction of liberation.

The line of arguments that led Meykandar and his students to such a profound and deeply significant analysis of the origins of moral sense is described

in greater detail elsewhere, (K. Loganatha Muttarayan, 1981) suffice here to say it differs fundamentally from the Jungian analysis or the Christian theologians whom he criticized. The Siddhantic analysis introduces a *directionality* in the psychic functioning of immense significance-whatever a psyche does it is either liberation promoting or not, conducive towards the attainment of nirvāna or not. Those that are good bring the psyches more in the sphere of influence of TCU; those that are not, lead the psyches away from TCU but bring closer towards the dominance of Aṇu. There is an inherent bipolarity in the psychological processes of psyches that remains with them during their entire course of phenomenal existence. This bipolarity, this divisive moral sense, conditions the sediments that accrue in the psychic constitution and settle eventually in the hidden layers of unconscious. The diagram below (IV) represents this bipolarity in the psychological functioning of all psyches.




**e. The Ideal Self**

While Jung recognizes the necessary connections between the dark and light sides, the benevolent and terrible, the benign and gruesome, it is not sufficiently differentiated from the morally good and evil, the right and wrong. This results in a number of contradictions in the concept of archetypical Self – the Self that is the center of subjectivity of all the archetypes, the complete wholeness that is simultaneously Christ and Anti-Christ. To the extent they are taken as archetypical characterization of TCU, then it is just another one among many other possibilities such as Siva-Rudra, Uma-Durga, and so forth. Within this conceptual framework it is also consistent to ascribe to it an infinite capacity for regulating the cosmic processes. If this is so, then the Anti-Christ, Bairava, Rudra, Durga, Kali and so forth are not causes of immorality or the morally reprehensible side of man. The creatures are *not* morally evil when such archetypes as above take hold of their psychic functions and determine their actions and endeavours. They are just as *divine* as the benevolent, the beautiful, the kind archetypical actions.

From this it also follows that the Christ – Anti Christ complex when equated with Siva–Rudra and so forth *could not* be the *image* in which man is made. If we take it to be so then man must be considered wholly divine though capable of both benevolence and destruction. It *will not* account for moralistic polarity in his psychic functions. The capacity for the morally evil actions will remain unexplained.

The Christian theologians seem to have recognized the inconsistency in deriving the bipolar moral sense from Christ, the divine. The divine, they correctly recognized, cannot be the source of evil. However, they too appeared not to have differentiated sharply the morally evil from the gruesome, destructive, terrible. They banished Yahweh from Christ by establishing an antithesis instead of an inseparable complementarity, a result of lack of sufficient discrimination between the terrible and the morally evil. It has led them to such views as 'God can only be good' that evil is 'the privation of good' and so forth. ( cw : vol. 9 II, page 46 ). The dimunition of evil, denying the reality evil that characterises the Christian theologians is wholly inconsistent with the stand taken in Saiva Siddhanta. The evil is real ; that man and all creatures do actions that are pāvam ( evil ) and puṇṇiyam ( good ) is undeniable; it is a universal feature of behaviour. Man does evil and there lies his human character. The source of his evil actions is however, not the Christ-Anti Christ, Siva–Rudra and so forth but rather man himself – his going deeper under the spell of Aṇu, regressing into lower forms of being.

Man's need to *be*, to exist as a phenomenal reality, being chained to samsāra is ultimately derived by the Saivites from the need for all psyches to liberate themselves completely from the dominance of the ever depressing Aṇu in their psychic functioning. The TCU initiates this struggle by providing to the psyches an initial consciousness of their bound nature and continuously guides and regulates their progress through archetypical intervention. The TCU is seen as the source and strength of the psyche's ceaseless struggle for liberation.

Now in this struggle TCU has to be *both* Destructive and Generative, the Terrible and Benevolent, otherwise it would *lack* the capacity to regulate and guide the upward progress of the psyches towards Nirvāna. God has to be both Benign and Angry for, otherwise He could not function as the Supreme Power. The Christ-Anti Christ is not an image of self, the form in which the creatures are made but only a form, an important aspect of TCU – the ultimate source of Consciousness and Power.

Meykandar has argued powerfully for the need for TCU to be both Destructive and Generative. The mutal is caṅkārakāraṇan – the Supreme Power is the Supreme Agent of destruction. The Supreme Power has to be one that has the destructive and generative powers within itself in an active complementary relationship. They have to be manifested together for the regulation of the cosmic

processes including the psychic that lead the psyches towards ultimate liberation.

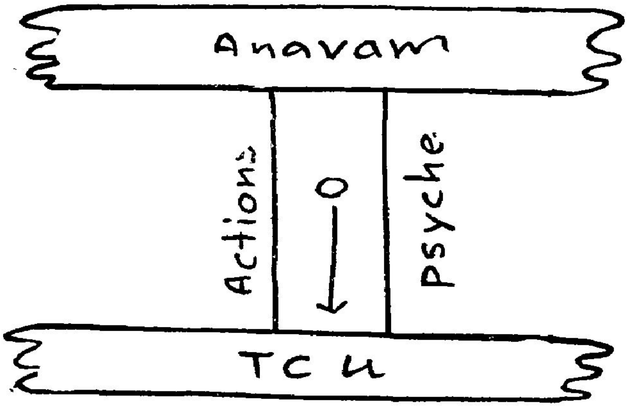
The demand for active complementary relationship between the destructive and generative aspects distinguishes Saiva Siddhanta from the Visistaādvaita of Nammāḷvār-Ramanuja. Nammāḷvār explains TCU as 'uyarvaṟa uyar nalam uṭayavan' a being outside whom there is nothing, a sarvēsvaran. In such an understanding Destruction and Generation will remain as elements among elements, aspects among aspects without any intimate complementary relationship. If that were so, as it has been pointed out repeatedly by a host of Siddhanties, TCU will lack the capacity to regulate the cosmic processes effectively - it could not be a Cosmic Power. Appaya Dikshita (16th century) in his 'pirammataruk-kastalam' has explored a vast range of mythic figures in Indian puranas and itihasas and shown the presence of the destructive and benefactive in complementary relationship in the archetypical forms of all great Gods.

Man is destructive-generative and it is this capacity that enables him to be moralistic. The normal feelings emerge in the context of the psyche's expression of the destructive-generative capacities against the dominance of Aṇu in its psychic functions. It is this characteristic of man that constitutes his humanness, the creature nature of the creatures. The creatures derive their very important destructive-generative power ultimately from TCU - the creatures' power is an expression of the Supreme Power of TCU. For this reason TCU becomes the Pasupati, the Lord of the creatures, and in a way the ground, the basis of the moral sense in man.

This divergence in conception of the essential nature of the psyches between Meykandar and Jung also leads to differences in the conception of the ideal man. As we have already seen, Jung limits himself to saying that such a man is a rounded man, complete man who is capable of all the four basic psychological functions. He is the most differentiated man, who is able to react psychologically in the manner most suited to the problem situation or dilemma. Such a man will be psychologically healthy - he will be incapable of neuroses, psychosis and so forth.

Meykandar, however, sees the ideal psyche differently. Since he sees psyches essentially as struggling against the regressive Aṇu, the ideal psyche will be one who has won the battle completely. His psychic functions will not be influenced by Aṇu to any degree at all, it will be completely under the dominance of the divine TCU. This also means that such a psyche will not be moralistic at all - it would have transcended completly that divisive state of functioning. As such, it will be very much *like* TCU without loosing however its identity. The ideal psyche's psychological functions will be *unidirectional* and tend only in the directions of TCU it would have lost its orientation towards

Aṇu. We can represent this state of affairs as in the diagram (V).




It will remain, metaphorically speaking, at the feet of Siva with no other thoughts or inclinations in a state of complete self-surrender. This certainly does not mean complete stillness or passivity. It is being, existing, acting without moral divisiveness. It is doing what is consistent with unflinching self-surrender to TCU.

A number of difficulties arise within the framework of this analysis. We can pose questions with regard to the *technology* that would bring about the realization of such an ideal state.

This question has been handled in very great detail and the bulk of agamas and Siddhanta literature is in fact about the psycho-transformational technology that would facilitate such a 'development. The importance of these technologies for psychotherapy and education should not be underestimated. It is being proposed to deal with it separately in another paper ; we shall postpone any detailed discussions to a later stage. Of crucial importance for the present study however, is another question pertaining to the archetypes.

The basic Saiva Siddhanta texts examined do not include the asuras, the devils, witches and such other archetypes that are evil in what they term as mūrtis, uru and so forth. Tattuvaprakasar who deals very extensively with archetypes and argues very strongly to establish not alone their reality but also their necessity for psychic growth, do not include the asuras or demons in his list of archetypes. (Tattuvaprakasam, verses 20, 21, 23, 24, 26 and 216). Revana Sittar defines the archetypes as 'primordial images with a great capacity for facilitating growth' (perukutiṟannilai maruvam uru – Sivajnana Tipam, verse 26) and compares those who do not see the different archetypes as expressions of the same underlying reality to the blind men who insist on the accuracy of their own picture of an elephant derived by beholding only part of it (verse 33). In his enumeration of the archetypes though the terrible forms are included but not

the evil ones. Sivajnāna Sitti, an extensive and basic text that deals with practically all the major issues also do not mention any such archetypes. Caṭṭaināta Vallal, in his deep study of the significance of a single but basic archetype 'satāsivam' defines 'sātākkiyam' as the emergence of archetypes during meditations, differentiated into many as a result of differentiation of the inherent power in TCU (sutra 5). His enumeration of archetypes in terms of the differentiated power inherent in them do include the devilish kind but his explanation in terms of gunas is not in line with the basic tenets of Saiva Siddhanta. Tiru kaliṟṟuppaṭiyār, as we have already seen, mentions such terrible and gruesome archetypes as Bairava but not interestingly enough, any that are evil or foreboding.

We should conclude then that despite considerable overlap in the concept of mūrti and archetype, there is a difference as well. The mūrtis are *divine* archetypes and they emanate from TCU. The non-divine archetypes are not mūrtis and are not analysed to any extent in the basic texts examined.

This raises an important question : How can the devilish evil archetypes be accommodated within the conceptual framework of Saiva Siddhanta?

**(f) The Evil Archetypes and Karma**

An attempt will be made now to provide an explanation that is adequate. An examination of the most important or at least the basic texts that were available for examination, reveal that this aspect of the problem is one of the least developed in the system. Discussions remain fairly at a general level-one fails to find any detailed discussions of the origins of psychoses, neuroses and other psychic ailments comparable to that available in Jungian system or even in Freud. Most of the psychic energy, it would appear, seem to have been spent on understanding TCU, the nature of divine archetypes and the kinds of technologies that would serve to remove the ailments of the psyches and enable them to attain nirvāna.

It has already been mentioned that TCU, the psyches and Aṇu are taken as irreducible categories of object without which no cosmic processes can be explained adequately. Aṇu is the eternally present obstruent, a non intelligent material stuff whose intrinsic nature is to engulf or block the psyches consciousness. TCU, through archetypical intervention provides an initial awareness of this condition of the psyches with which begins the samsāra, the phenomenality of the psyches. The psyches endeavour unceasingly to liberate themselves from the magical hold of Aṇu; the moral sense guides them in this struggle till they attain success. The origins of human distresses, miseries, mental ailments and so forth are ultimately traced to this moral struggle of the psyches. The sediments of this moral struggle, the additions, to the psychic constitutions that are due to this long moral war from the beginning

of phenomenal existence is termed *karma*, literally meaning the products of actions. It must be recalled that Jung had the Indian Karma doctrine in mind when he talked about Collective Unconscious though it is not clear which doctrine of Karma he had in mind.

Karma is called an acquired obstruent (ākantuka malam) in contrast to Aṇu that is termed primary or natural obstruent (sahaja malam). In addition to Karma, the psychophysical body that psyches attach themselves to in any life-run is also said to be a by product of the moral struggle of the psyches against the hold of Aṇu. Such bodies and all the manifestational basis of everything in the universe including the mantras, thought forms and so forth are said to be evolutes of the primeaval sakti or Energy. The TCU, the ultimate source and ground of all Forms, including the archetypical is said to co-exist with the Primeaval Energy, the undifferentiated manifestational foundation of everything that has being in the universe. There could be nothing in the cosmic process without the union of TCU and this undifferentiated Energy. This knowledge is expressed archetypically in the form of the abstract linga-yōni symbolism, more concretely as the dance of Siva-Sakti. The author of Tirukaliṟṟupaṭiyār describes this same knowledge by characterising the TCU – Energy pair as the primary Father–Mother of the whole cosmic processes (ammaiapparē ulakukku ammaiappar). Ritually this is celebrated in the form of the sacred marriage of Siva to Parvati, a marriage alliance in which however, Parvati remains forever chaste (kanni). This is very important ritual in the Siva temples, interestingly enough, has come down from at least the Sumerian times; there are also numerous archeological evidences to suggest that it was prevalent even among the people of Harappa and Mohenjadaro.

The material evolutes, being products of the psyches' struggle against Aṇu, are also termed as acquired obstruents just like Karma. The differentiated aspects of the psyches – physically as well as psychically, along with their phenomenality are acquired, are products of the actions, endeavours of the psyches to attain liberation. The doctrine of iruvinai – the puṇṇiyam-pāvam complex, the divisive nature of moral sense, in addition to being used to explain the origins of the psychological ailments, is also utilized to explain the observable differences of the creatures – the individual as well as the species – genus differences of all the living creatures. The essential outlines of this theory has been already explained elsewhere (K. Loganatha Muttarayan, 1982). We shall now focus our attention on the psycholological ailments and the manner in which the concepts can be expanded to include the devilish archetypical forms.

There are two theories in the body of Saiva Siddhanta regarding the origins of the psychological miseries, mental disorders and so forth. The first, available in 'jnanāmirtam' seems to be a refinement of the Samkya doctrines. Just as in Samkhya, the miseries are divided into three types - ātiyānmikam, ātipautikam and ātiteyvikam. By ātiyānmikam are meant bodily and psychic

disorders of the creatures. Included in the list of the bodily ailments are depressions and sadness caused by separations, loss of properties and so forth, diseases caused by evil sprits such as ghosts, devils, demons and so forth, diseases caused by psychological disorders, distresses caused by rogues, enemies, birds, beasts and so forth. Among the mental distresses or ailments are included extreme sadness or depressions, jealousy and avarice, disappointments arising from failing to get what is desired, distresses caused by offences to dignity and pride, miseries arising from bad temper and so forth.

Under ātipautikam are listed distresses caused by the psysical forces of nature.

Ātiteyvikam includes distresses that are due to the inevitable creature processes such as birth, old age, death as well as distresses arising from the state of psyche being ignorant or not being conscious of the contents of the unconscious (aññānam). Unfortunately this rather important component of the psychological distresses, important from the point of view of modern psychology is not elaborated much further (akaval 26). The origins of these miseries are traced to the acquired karma, hidden in the deep recesses of the psyches and forgotten by them. These are the puṇṇiyams and pāvams, acquired in the earlier lives, manifesting themselves when the time is appropriate with puṇṇiyams causing happiness and pāvams causing miseries of the above short (akaval 25). Ultimately the origins of all miśeries, bodily and psychic, are traced to the deposits in the psychic structure that has accumulated as a result of morally evil actions *i.e.* actions that are regressive in the struggle for liberation. Vāgisar, the author of Jnanāmirtham, classifies Karma into kāyakanman and Pūrvakanman. The kāyakanman is the sediment accumulated in the submerged component of the psyche as a result of conscious, intentional actions from the time of birth. The pūrvakanman, on the other hand, is the inherited, the ancestral action-outcomes that has come along with the psyche in its long transmigrational existence. These can be compared with the Personal Unconscious and Collective Unconscious of Jung.

Meykandar, as reported by Arulnandi in his *Irupāirupatu*, seems to have viewed the matter rather differently. The sources of miseries are traced not alone to Karma but also to the other malās – aṇu and māya (the evolutes of Energy, the forms of matter). (Irupā verse 4) Thinking that one is unique (vikaṟpam), projective thinking (karpam) (such as for example that Jung studied under Transference), irritability and angry moods (krōtam), sexual and related desires (mōkam), murderous inclinations (kolai), proneness to depression (ajnar), pride and egotism (matam), and inclination to ridicule, insult and cause miseries to others (nakai) are traced directly to the functions of the psyche under the dominance of Aṇu itself. The implication is that, without the strong interference of TCU or when the

interference of TCU is weakened for some reasons or other, the psyches will *tend* to do the above, which are at the same time the paradigmatic cases of what constitutes evil, the morally objectionable. To say that the psyches are dominated by Aṇu is the same as to say that they are *naturally inclined* to do the types of things listed above. This list of the *instinctual* forces that characterizes the psychodynamics of creatures is more inclusive than the Freudian death and sexual instincts or Adlerian power instinct. Meykandar is closer to Jung in this respect. It should also be noted that 'instinctual' in modern psychology corresponds to Meykandar's 'forces operative when the psyche is under the dominance of Aṇu'. These basic instincts are taken as expressions or symptoms (kuṇam and kuṟi) of the dominating presence of Aṇu in the psychological functioning of the psyches.

Unconsciousness, (aññānam), illusions (poy), misunderstanding or erroneous beliefs (ayarvu), desire or coveteousness (mōkam), untruthfulness (paicacuniyam), hatred (mārcariyam), misplaced fear (payam) are attributed to māya i. e. manifestations or evolutes of differentiated Primordial Energy.

Lethargy and disinterestedness (iruttal), proneness to diseases (kiṭattal), moralistic behaving (iruvinai iyaṟṟal), insulting others (para nintai), communing with morally lower beings (mēval) and so forth are traced to karma.

It is clear that Meykandar traces the origins of the psychlogical or psychic processes that are not healthy, to the evaluates of Māya – the primordian energy. Those listed under karma are undesirable features of *behaviour*, action, Since both māya and karma are acquired obstruents which is not the case with Aṇu, it is clear that Meykandar considers the origins of undesirable psychic processes and social behaviours as ultimately traceable to the actions of the psyches done with the dominance of Aṇu on them i. e. actions in the direction of the instinctual forces.

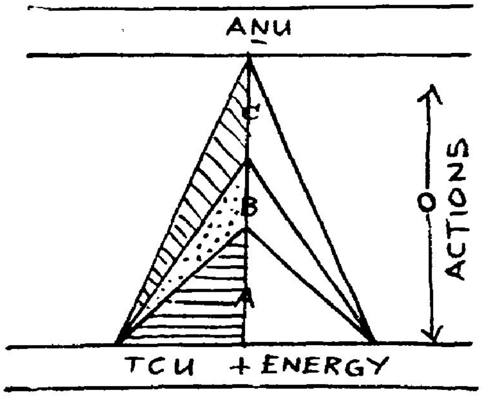
This account of Meykandar constitutes a significant departure from the traditional views then current in India at that time and is one of the most original contributions of Meykandar. It has remained one of the most distinctive features of Saiva Siddhanta, and has contributed towards changing the direction of development of the psychotechnologies. It is also one of the features that brings Saiva Siddhanta very close to modern psychology.

We can view the matter as follows. With the archetypical intervention of TCU begins the conscious functioning of psyches. Along with it also begins the instinctual and anti-instinctual struggles of the psyches. This brings about increments to the psychic contents and transmigratory phenomenal existence. The action—outcomes that are added to the contents of psyches and left as residues in the submerged part of

the psyche are elements of the unconscious and unknown to the psyches determine the psychophysical characteristics of their phenomenal existence. The contents of these unconscious can be divided into Personal Unconscious (kāya kanmam) and Collective Unconscious (purva kanmam). Further subdivisions of these are also possible. Each layer can be sub divided into puṇṇiyam and and pāvam. The puṇṇiyam are residues of previous actions that were felt by the psyches as morally good, the right, the divine. The pāvam is the opposite—they are residues of the psyches past actions that were felt evil, morally objectionable.

The contents can also be divided as māya and karma (a different sense here) where a portion of maya component is the product of actions in the direction of the instinctual forces that bring about undersirable *psychic processes.* A portion of karma component similarly is the residue of similar kinds of actions that results in undesirable *behaviours* in the present life.

What is common to both theories is that pāvam component in the unconscious is the cause of miseries, distresses anti social and undesirable dispositions, traumas, moods and so forth and perhaps we can add, neuroses, psychoses and so forth When under the stimulus of elements in an experience, unknown to the person, they emerge from the deeper layers of the psyche into consciousness seizing his psychic functions. Simultaneously perhaps we have elements from the puṇṇiyam component competing for control of the conscious intentional actions of the person. The conflict between the two is manifested as distresses, traumas, miseries and so forth.




vāgisar A: Pūrva kanmam

B : Kāya kaṇmam

C: Consciousness

The shaded part pāvam, the unshaded part puṉṉiyam.

**Meykandar-Arulṇandi**

A: māya

B : karma

C: consciousness

The shaded part responsible for the undesirable psychic and behavioural manifestations .

The explanation also provides a framework for explaining the origins of the devilish archetypes. All archetypes, as we have seen, originate in TCU. However as archetypes experienced by the psyches they become deposits in the unconscious components of the psyche. Since every experience of the psyches occur within the morally divisive good-evil dichotomy it is possible that archetypes, as elements of experience were also experienced as morally good or evil Some archetypical experience of the psyches could have been felt as good in the sense that intuitively they judged them as contributing towards the struggle against the dominance of Aṇu Similarly some archetypical experience could have been felt intuitively as evil, as not promoting the struggle for liberation or nirvāna. The asuras, demons, witches, evil spirits are then archetypes having the same origin as the other archetypes i.e. TCU-Energy, the Siva-Sakti complex but coloured by the moral feelings of the psyches that experienced them. They are opposed to the devas, gods and goddesses, fairies and nymphs, the 'good' spirits; i.e. archetypes that are experienced as 'good' by the psyches. The bulk of mythologies, the puranas are stories about the battles between these two with the devas or the good spirits always defeating the asuras or the evil spirits. The puranas then become expressions of the ceaseless struggles of man for liberation, liberation from the regressive enchantment of Aṇu. They express what is universal not alone in man but also in all creatures.

This account of archetypes allows us to distinguish three distinct elements in the archetypes :

(a) The structure or simply the form of the archetypes.

(b) The manifestational basis – the energy differentiation that gives substance to them and make the phenomenal.

(c) The moral feelings or in general the complex of emotions and evaluative judgements of the psyches in whose consciousness the archetypes manifested themselves.

The source of pure forms is Siva ; the source of the manifestational basis is Sakti or Tūmāyai. The archetypes are then fractions of Siva-Sakti that make the appearance in the consciousness arousing different kinds of feelings and emotions depending upon the context in which they appear. They are experienced as benign, divine, auspicious, sacred on the one hand, devilish, demonic, evil, foreboding and so forth on the other hand. This feeling tone is peculiarly psychic – the archetypes in themselves do not carry such feelings. It is this feeling aspect that contributes to the differentiation of the archetypes into divine and devilish, the good and the evil.

Jung explained the origins of the archetypes in terms of repeated occurrences of natural events in psychic experiences. This has to be modified

somewhat. Psyches *act* in order to accomplish a need in the light of what ever consciousness they have. When such acts are repeated over and over again, they become routines, habits the execution of which do not require any more conscious attention. As such they may become elements of the personal Unconscious. Disasters, morally objectionable actions, whether linguistic, mental or physical may be repressed and submerged into the personal unconscious.

At death the most general aspects of these deposits are probably transferred to a lower layer of the psyche and retained there. At rebirth, these lower contents determine the psycho-phsical forms the creature inherits biologically. In Saiva Siddhanta, as in many other systems in Indian thought, three different types of karma are recognized. The kāmiyakarma is the same as the kāyakarma mentioned earlier, and it corresponds to PU of Jung. In addition to these Prārtha karma and Sanjitha karma are also recognized.

These two correspond to Collective Unconscious of Jung. Perhaps we have to subdivide CU into Ancestral Personal Unconscious and Ancestral Collective Unconscious to correspond respectively to the above two karmas. The Ancestral Collective Consciousness is perhaps more specifically the Species General residue of experienced archetypes. As human beings, all persons share a common past with respect to archetypical experience the trace of which is left in the psychic structure determining a common biological nature - the species characteristics. The Ancestral Personal Unconcious, however, is that unique component in the individual psyches, derived from the ancestral past that contributes to determining the biologically inherited idiosyncratic features of the individual. All these are however, ultimately derivable from the contents of the Personal Unconscious i e. products of kāmiya karma – intentional and conscious actions of the psyches. A creature in existence has a biological structure and psychical processes that are ultimately products of its own conscious actions in the lives past.

This is the greatest discovery of Dravidian civilization, tantric/agamic culture where the karma doctrine arose. To escape from being chained to transmigratory existence also became the major goal of life; religious life as such was consciously patterned to enable this. The psycho-technologies developed for this purpose has important implications for psychotherapy, a fact that Jung and many others have already noted. Saiva Siddhanta has a lot to offer here but this line of investigation will be taken up separately.

**Concluding Remarks**:

In this brief study only the essentials in Jungian system and Saiva Siddhanta were attended to. The Jungian system is the closest in the West that comes anywhere comparable to the various philosophical/psychological systems the

East has formulated and lived by. In this Saiva Siddhanta comes closest to resembling Jungian system in a number of essential features. The concept of physche and archetype appears to be, in essentials at least, similar in both systems. However, in the theoretical explanation a great divergence is observable. Though Jung tries to extricate himself from the thoughts of the Christian theologians, he still appears to fall short of a complete departure that seems to be required for an objective, scientific explanation. In logical rigour and depth of analysis Meykandar stands well above Jung. This should not be surprising for Meykandar lived and breathed in a tradition that had lived through many varieties of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism, all great systems that made significant and profound contributions towards understanding the origins of human miseries. However, there are also aspects of psychology better developed in Jungian system than in Saiva Siddhanta. On the whole the two stand in a complementary relationship and a deeper study of both will be mutually beneficial. For Saivaites, the importance of Jungian system can be seen as follows.

The brilliant start that Meykandar gave, came to a close around the seventeenth century. No texts of major importance has come down to us after this period. The loss of independence to Muslims and European colonial powers might have been the indirect causes of this intellectual degeneration.

In the revial that we are witnessing today, Jungian system provides a theoretical, conceptual framework within which we can relate Saiva Siddhanta to the modern world. We can easily assimilate the advances Jung has made without any basic changes to the profundity that Meykandar has bequethed to us. Having done this and adapted the system to the modern world, we can pursue making new advances to make the system sufficiently rich and adequate to the demands of the modern world, the modern man, the men of this generation. There are many domains of psychology that has been hardly studied within overall theoretical framework of Saiva Siddhanta. Such areas as educational psychology, psychiatry, industrial psychology and so forth are still about human behaviour, human development Saiva Siddhanta has a profound analysis of human nature and this knowledge has to be extended to the various domains of human behaviour. Let us consider these as the most important tasks of the present generation of Saivites.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY


1. Appaya Dikshitar
   *Pirama tarukkas talam*
   Tamil trans. by A. Ambalavāna Navalar, 1895

2. Arulnandi Civacariar
   (a) *Civajnāna Cittiyār*
   Com. Civajnana Yōgikal
   Kazhaka Pub. 1969

   (b) *Irupāirupatu*
   Com. Tattuvanātar
   Kazhaka Pub. 1969.

3. Cikazhi caṭṭaināta Vallal
   *Catacivarūpam*
   Tiruvāvaduturai ātinam, 1954.

4. Ciṟṟampala nāṭikal
   *Tukalaru pōtam,*
   (Ed) Ta-ca-Minātchi Sundaram Pillai.
   Tiruvāvaduturai āṭinam, 1952,

5. Civapprakasar
   *Civapprakāsa Vikāsam,*
   Date and publisher unknown.

6. Edinger, Edward F.
   *Ego and Archetype,*
   Penguin Books, 1972.

7. Fordham, Freud,
   *Introduction to Jung's Psychology,*
   Penguin Books, 1953.

8. Jacobi, Jolan
   *The Psychology of C.G. Jung*
   Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1942.

9. Jung C. G.
   (a) *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology,*
   C.W. Vol. 7, English Trans lation, R.F.C. Hull
   (b) *Aion: Researches into the Phenomenology of the Self*
   C.W. Vol. 9, part II, English Translation R.F.C. Hull
   Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.

10. Loganatha Muttarayan, K.
    (a) *Arunandi's Theory of Morol Behaviour,*
    Saiva Siddhanta, Vol xvi, 1981. & 6,, 1982.

    (b) *Tantric Theory of Learning,*
    Saiva Siddhanta, Vol. xvi, no. 5 & 6, 1982.

11. Meykandār
    *Civajnana Bōtam*
    with ciṟṟurai by Civajnana yōgikaḷ,
    Annamalai University Pub. 1968.

12. Revana Cittar
    *Civajnānatipam,*
    Madras Govt. Oriental Series No VII

13. Tattuvaprakāsar
    *TattuvapPirakāsam*
    (Ed) M. Arunasalam, 1965.

14. Umapathi Civacariar
    *Civapprakāsam,*
    Kazhaka Pub. 1969.

15. Uyyavanta Tēvar II
    *Tirukkaḷirrupaṭiyār anupūti urai,*
    (Ed) M. Arunasalam, 1962.

16. Vagisar
    *Jnānāmirtam,*
    (Ed) Avvai S. Duraisamy Pillai
    Annamalai University Pub. 1954.

# The Politico-Economic Implications of the Religious Conversion of the Paravas in the Gulf of Mannar, A.D. 1532-1552

S. MANICKAM

The purpose of this paper is to bring to limelight the politico-economic implications of the religious conversion of the Paravas or *Paratavar* of the Gulf of Mannar between A. D. 1532 and 1552, from the time of the Portuguese interference in the Gulf-affairs to the death of the saintly Francis Xavier, a well-known Catholic missionary who had rendered yeoman service to the Paravas of the Fishery Coast. It also intends to indicate the geo-political significance of the Gulf of Mannar which formed a part of the erstwhile Pandyan kingdom and the various aspects of its coastal politics characterised by embittered trade relations among the foreign and native powers. Very often vested interests backed by organized political powers ruffled the placid waters of the coastal life, resulting in mutual hatred, commercial rivalry, religious feuds, diplomatic crisis and strained relations. Though historians of repute have written about the Gulf of Mannar, they have done so almost exclusively from the political point of view or in a perfunctory manner without stating the interaction between trade, politics and religion all of which had had a hand in the complicated affairs of the Gulf region. Hence, the need to make a study on the interplay of the various factors - political, economic and religious - becomes compelling. In this respect this region still remains an unexplored virgin soil, offering much scope for further investigation along the lines indicated.

**Strategic Importance of the Gulf of Mannar :**

The Gulf of Mannar is a part of the Bay of Bengal, along the coast which extends from Cape Comorin to Rameswaram and between the shipyard of Tuticorin and the island of Ceylon. It forms the south-eastern part of the Peninsular India. This region has been one of the most important strategic spots on the Coast of Coromandel. From very early times in South Indian history, particularly from the proverbial *Sangam Age* (B.C. 300-A.D. 300) down to the advent of the Europeans towards the close of the 15th century, the Gulf of Mannar had been a centre of brisk commercial, political and religious activities, involving in this many-faceted enterprise people from far and wide. Of them the Phonecians, *Yavanas* (Graeco-Romans), Chinese, Javanese, Burmese,

Vietnamese, Ceylonese and the Moors (Arab Muslims) deserve special mention.

For many centuries the Gulf of Mannar region had been a sort of *entrepot* and a cultural melting pot, from where a flourishing sea-borne trade in spices, pearls, silken and cotton goods, teak and sandalwood, rice, ivory, indigo, metals and several other interesting items had been carried on, bringing a lot of profit to the country. *The Periplus Maris Erythraean Sea* (written about A.D. 60 by an anonymous writer) gives a detailed account of the voyage and the articles of import and export at various places.[1] The chief amongst the articles sent in exchange were the 'great quantities of spices'.[2]

A Sangam poem which bears evidence to this fact says that the *Yavana* ships came loaded with gold and carried away great quantities of pepper to the West.[3] In medieval times, as it was in the olden days, South Indian ports were frequently visited by the European merchants who traded Chiefly in spices. In those days modern preservatories such us Refrigerators were not available and hence spices were used for the preservation of foodstuffs. People in Europe subsisted on bacon smoked in chimneys, ham soaked in salt and meat preserved with pepper. Spices were used also to flavour sour wine. The process of preserving meat with pepper was called 'powdering' and the treatment meted out to sour wine with the help of spices was styled 'mulling'.[4]

Korkai, which is now a small village at the mouth of *Tamravarni*, was once a renowned Pandya capital was long the emporium of South Indian trade. Works of the ancient Greek and Roman writers particularly of the Classical Age speak of Cape Comorin, Korkai, Paumben and the Gulf of Mannar.[5] They refer to Korkai as 'Kolkhoi emporium' and recognize it as head-quarters of the pearl fishery in the Pandya kingdom.[6] Bishop Caldwell believes that "of all places frequented by the Greeks the place from which rice was most likely to be exported to Europe was Kolkhoi, at the mouth of the Tamraparani."[7] The Gulf of Mannar, which was dominated by Korkai, is referred to as 'Cokhie Gulf'.[8]

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Reprint (Madras University, 1972), pp. 6–7.
2. Rev. Henry Little, "Roman Coins found in South India", *The Harvest Field* (a Missionary Monthly published in India), IV, No. 3 (September, 1883), p. 68.
3. யவனர் தந்த வினைமாண் நன்கலம்
   பொன்னொடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும் — அகம்.
4. Percival Spear, *India : A Modern History*, New Edition, revised and enlarged (Ann Arbour : The University of Michigan Press, 1972), pp. 160–61.
5. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.
6. Robert Caldwell, *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly* (Madras : Govt. Press, 1881), p. 18.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Next in importance was Kāyalpaṭnam or Cail of Marco Polo, the most important city and sea port on the eastern coast during the medieval period. It slowly rose to prominence, pushing Koṛkai into the background. It was connected with different parts of the world through trade and commerce. Talking about the strategic importance of the city of Kayal, Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller who visited the city in A.D. 1292, makes the following observation which is worth recording. He writes:

"Cail is a great and noble city, and belongs to Ashar (Ishwara ?), the eldest of the five brother-kings. It is at this city that all the ships touch that come from the west, as from Hormus (Hormuz), and from Kis (an island in the Persian Gulf), and from Aden, and all Arabia, laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail. The king possesses vast treasures, and wears upon his person great store of rich jewels. He maintains great state and administers his kingdom with great equity, and extends great favour to merchants and foreigners, so that they are very glad to visit his city. The king has some 300 wives, for in those parts the man who has most wives is most thought of."[9]

According to Marco Polo the merchants of West Asia conducted a vast trade in horses and supplied the Pandyan king more than 2,000 horses every year. Each horse fetched a fair prize of about Rs. 2,200 (or 220 *dinar* of red gold) and a great part of the country's wealth was spent in purchasing horses.[10] Wassaf, the Persian historian, a contemporary of Marco Polo, also speaks of the horse trade at Kayal. He mentions that a certain Arab Chieftain by name Malik-ul-Islam Jamaluddin and his brother Takiuddin Abdur Rahman had established their headquarters at Kayal and that they were the most prominent agents of the horse trade.[11]

The Gulf of Mannar has been famous for its unique pearl and chank fisheries also. Medieval travellers like Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, Wang Ta-Yuan, Barbosa and Varthema have referred to the pearl fishery of the Gulf.[12] The anonymous author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraean Sea,* while writing about the Gulf region, records the following: "After Bakare occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos towards the south...and a city of the name of Kolkhoi...Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven... . From Komarei towards the south the country extends as far as Kolkhoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. Condemned criminals are employed in

9. Marco Polo, *Travels* (translated by Yule), II, p. 305.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 285.
11. Elliot, III, p. 34; Cf. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
12. Marco Polo, *Travels,* II, pp. 331–32 and 338; Lee's *Ibn Batuta*, p. 185; Barbosa, *An Account,* II, p. 116 and 123; Varthema, *Travels,* p. 185.

the service. King Pandion is the owner of the fishery....In this single place are obtained the pearls collected near the island of Epidores." [13]

*Arthasāstra* the political treatise of Kautilya, assigned to the 4th century B.C. speaks of two kinds of pearls from the Pandya country: '*Pandya Kavāta*' and the '*Tamraparṇika*'.[14] The inscriptions of Tamilnad also mention different kinds of pearls fished from the fishery coast. They are: *Vattam* (round pearls), *anuvattam* (roundish pearls), *oppumuthu* (polished pearls), *kurumuthu* (small pearls), *karadu* (crude pearls), *sappattai* (flat pearls), *sakkattu, nimbolam pavittam* (pāniccay resembling toddy in colour), *tōl-teyṇḍana* (pearls with rubbed surface), *toldaṇḍana* (pearls with cracked surface), *civantanīr* (pearls of red water) and *Paḷamuthu* (old pearls).[15]

The pearls of Tamilnadu are world famous and they formed one of the earliest objects of India's foreign trade. "Small is the pearl but queen among the jewels" are the words of St. Gregory. Pliny, the well-known Roman naturalist and Philosopher of the first century A.D. bitterly complains against the Roman ladies that they were so fond of pearls that they wore them not only on their persons but also on their shoes. He observes that these ladies paid so heavily for pearl ornaments that a sumptuary law was passed against the depletion of the Roman coffers thereby.[16] Ptolemy of the second century A. D. also alludes to the pearls of the Pandyanad.

## II

**The Paravas and the Pearl Fishery:**

The Paravas, an industrious fishermen community, are the inhabitants of the coastal belt from Cape Comorin to Rameswaram. In medieval and ancient times they clustered round Koṛkai and Kayal and scores of villages called *Pākkam* or *Sirukudi*.[17] From time immemorial their profession was fishing, salt-manufacturing, boat-building and trade. The Paravas were particularly adept in pearl and chank fishing through which they brought a regular and sizeable revenue to the native rulers. Marco Polo observes: "When you leave the island of Seilan and sail westward about 60 miles, you come to the great province of Mabar which is styled India the Greater .... You must know that in this province there are five kings, who are own brothers .... At the end of this province reigns one of the five royal brothers, who is a crowned

---

13. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20.
14. K. K. Pillay, *South India and Ceylon* (University of Madras, 1963), p. 30.
15. *South Indian Inscriptions* (SII), II, p. 34, sec. 9 and 10.
16. Pliny, *Natural History*, Chapter II, 54 *et seq* quoted in M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, *Tamil India*, reprint.
    (Madras: The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works Publishing Society, Limited, Tinnevelly, 1965), pp. 75–76.
17. *Naṛṛinai*, 4 : 1 ; *Aham* : 320.

king, and his name is Sonder Bandi Daver. In his kingdom they find very fine and great pearls; and I will tell you how they are got....The pearl fishers take their vessels, great and small, and proceed into the gulf where they stop from the beginning of April till the middle of May....Of all the produce they have first to pay the king, as his royalty, the tenth part....In this mannerpearls are fished in great quantities, for thence in fact come the pearls which are spread all over the world. And I can tell you the king of that state hath a very great receipt and treasure from his dues upon those pearls . . . . " [18]

Claims have been made that the Paravas were originally petty rulers of the southern parts of Tamilnadu, and that they were subsequently reduced to the status of warriors by some of the Pandya kings. These defeated Paravas were posted on the coastal line to check the infiltration of foreigners. It is said that the Pandyan king Neḍunjeḷiyan (popularly known as *Thalayālaṅgānathu ceru venṟa*) conquered them and in recognition of their ability as an industrious and income-fetching craftsmen, he conferred upon them many privileges with which the Paravas remained content.[19] Overwhelmed with joy for his great success over the Paravas Neḍuṅjeḷiyan adorned himself with a gold chain embedded with glittering gems.[20] Māṅkudi Marutanār, a Tamil poet of the Sangam Age, describes the Pandyan king as : "Thou dost contend with Parava chiefs that live in southern noisy villages, who eat rice boiled with meat and kuvai roots, who love to swear and attack their foes with bows that smell of fish."[21]

It is also learnt that these rugged Paravas were defeated by Chola kings like Ilanchetsenni and Kulottunga. The pearl and chank fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar were so very lucrative that the Chola kings also made rival claims and at times seized control over them. From one of the inscriptional evidences we learn that Kulottunga Cōladēva was pleased to seize the pearl fisheries of the Madura country.[22] With the passage of time, the Paravas who were in the employ of the Pandyas and the Cholas were neglected and therefore they were forced to eke out their living through pearl and chank fishing, and also through other petty professions like trade, salt-manufacturing and boat-building.[23].

18. Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, pp. 331–32; Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41.
19. *Maduraikānji* : 143–46; Cf. Joseph C. Houpert, *The Madura Catholic Mission* (Trichinopoly, 1937), p. 32.
20. *Siṟupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* 11 : 56–58.
21. *Maduraikkānji* : 139–144.
22. *SII*, II, 58, line 50.
23. *Kalaikkalanjiyam* (Tamil encyclopaedia), VI, p. 748.

The Paravas carried on brisk internal as well as foreign trade. The people who lived in the different regions of the land exchanged their goods. Trade was done both by barter and by the use of currency. They exchanged their fish and salt for paddy.[24] The merchants used mules for transporting their goods from one place to another.[25] External trade also flourished during the medieval period. It was from this class of ancient Paravas that there arose in due course the famous sailors who later carried on trade in pearls, chank bangles, trinkets, pure salt and dried fish in boats to Malaya, Indonesia and China in the East and to Arabia and Africa in the West.[26] They also imported white horses and other essential commodities from them.[27] Today, the well-to-do Paravas are traders, contractors and boat-owners. Their usual method of trade is to migrate to Ceylon and other South East Asian countries as importers of goods from Indian mainland and as general dealers in all kinds of grocery and haberdashery leaving their family behind. They have learnt luxuries unknown to other communities. The poorer classes follow the traditional occupation of fishing and sailing, diving for pearls and chanks and cutting coral stones from the bed of the sea.[28]

**Paravas and the Arabs (Moors) :**

The peaceful atmosphere that prevailed in the Parava settlements on the Fishery Coast could not last long because of the Arabs (also known as Moors) who visited the coast from 9th century onwards for commercial purposes. Even before the Muslim invasions from the north, Muslim Arabs seem to have settled much earlier first on the Malabar Coast and from there they spread to several other places on the eastern coast and Ceylon. Their principal settlement in the Gulf of Mannar was Kayal-pattnam in the Tinnevelly district.[29]

The increasing demand for the Arabian horses and the lucrative spice trade attracted these Muslim traders in large numbers. They had much influence with the Pandya kings who befriended them to give impetus to their export trade and the import of horses from Arabia and Syria. Some of these Arab traders found place in the Council of the Pandya kings also. All these encouragements and privileges made the Arab Muslims settle down in the Gulf of Mannar region. Not only did they settle down there on the Fishery Coast but also propagated their religion first, of course through peaceful means. They entered into matrimonial alliance with some of the leading Parava families.[30]

---

24. *Aham* : 196 and 296.
25. *Ibid.*, 350.
26. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Sangam Age* (Madras: 1972), p. 32.
27. *Pattinappālai* : 326; *Perumpāṇārruppadai* : 319–327.
28. H. R. Pate, *Madras Gazetter* (1917), 122.
29. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan invaders* (New Delhi, Chand & Co., n. d.), p. 69.
30. S. Arunachalam, *History of the Pearl Fishery of the Tamil Coast* (Annamalai University, 1952), p. 89.

The mixed race consisting of the descendants of those Arabs are called *Mappillas* or *Jonahas* (Yavanas) on the Malabar Coast, *Lebbies* on the eastern. By the Tamil people they are generally styled *Tulukkar* (Turks). Their ordinary title is Marakkān or Marakkāyar, meaning sailors or owners of *Marakkalam* (boats).[31] In this respect these people resemble the *Lusa Indians* (Goanese) of Goa.

From the second half of the 13th century the Pandya power started fast deteriorating and it finally fell a prey to the Muslims from the north. Then, when the whole of Tamilnadu came under the sway of Vijayanagar towards the close of the 14th century, the already tottering Pandya power received a fatal blow. The eventual fall of the Pandyas was taken as an objective lesson by the hitherto peaceful Arabs and soon they realised the need to strengthen their position. Therefore, the Arabs sought the support of the Zamorin of Calicut on the West Coast who was a great supporter of the Arab Muslims who did much for the commercial prosperity of the city of Calicut. With his help the Arabs grew still stronger and powerful. Being in a vantage position, the Arabs made efforts to rob the monopoly in pearl trade from the Paravas and to bring the entire fishermen community under their effective control by forcing them into the fold of Islam. Touching upon this point A. Krishnaswami, formerly Professor at Annamalai University, writes that the Muslims settled on the Fishery Coast "had practically become the ultimate owners of all the pearl fisheries. They tyrannized the poor Paravas, prevented them from fishing without their permission and claimed a monopoly of dealing in pearls."[32] The local Rajahs and Polygars were on friendly terms with the Muslims since they were afraid of their sea power and anticipated some advantages from the trade the Muslims were conducting. So, without any protection even from their native rulers, the Paravas were subjected to persecution and ill-treatment at the hands of the Muslim Arabs, who had by now become aggressive and militant. The Paravas, not having any means of escape, succumbed to proselytization by the Muslims.[33] The Vijayanagar rulers under whose sway the whole of South India had passed by now left the activities of this small trading community on the coast unnoticed, for they had to tackle a far more serious threat which came from the Deccani Sultans in the north.

The suppressed Paravas, not being able to withstand the Muslim tyranny, used to rise in revolt against their oppressive masters but failed every time. Their wrath was very great and they waited for an opportunity to wreck vengeance on the Muslims. The occasional pin-pricks and bickerings between the Paravas and Muslims soon developed into bitter animosity and blood feuds.

---

31. Robert Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
32. A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country under Vijayanagar* (Annamalainagar : Annamalai University, 1964), p. 235.
33. S. Arunachalam, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

In A. D. 1532 matters culminated in a showdown in which a number of lives on both sides was lost. A petty quarrel broke out in Tuticorin between a Parava and a Muslim in which the former was badly wounded with one of his ear-lobe torn. This was taken as a great insult to the entire Parava community and so they secretly hatched a plot, made surprise attack on the Muslim quarters at Tuticorin and killed a good number of Muslims. They burnt their vessels and remained masters of the coast for some time.[34]

However, as anticipated, trouble started again. The rich Muslims swore the annihilation of their enemies and got the promise from the Hindu rulers not to let one Parava escape alive. The Muslims in retaliation collected an army with the help of the neighbouring Polygars and attacked the Paravas both by sea and land. The helpless Paravas who were surrounded on all sides were ruthlessly massacred, their huts burnt and their fishing tools destroyed.[35] In order to ensure the complete destruction of the Paravas, tbe Muslims offered *'five panams'* for every head of the Paravas, brought to them and it was only when the Muslims lowered the price from five to one *panam* that the Hindus became dissatisfied and stopped this indiscriminate killing.[36]

At this critical juncture when the very existence of the Parava community became precarious, the helpless Paravas were constrained to seek help from the Portuguese who had already established themselves as a formidable sea power on the West Coast.[37]

III

**The Paravas and the Portuguese :**

A new epoch in the history of India may be said to have begun when Vascoda Gama reached Calicut in A. D. 1498. With his arrival at Calicut, India was brought into contact with modern European civilization, first by the Portuguese and then by other Europeans who followed suit. Within a short time after their arrival, the Portuguese were able to build a factory at Cochin (A. D. 1502). In A. D. 1510 Goa became their headquarters and seven years later in A. D. 1517 they established a settlement with a fort in Ceylon.

The first European power that presented itself actively in the Gulf of Mannar were the Portuguese who came to India with the twin purpose of seeking Christians and securing spices. The two

34. James Hornell, *The Sacred Chank of India*, p. 4. Cf. D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar* (Bangalore, 1939), p. 118.
35. A. Krishnaswami, *op. cit.*, pp. 235–36.
36. James Hornell, *The Indian Pearl Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay*, pp. 12–16.
37. P. Dahmen, *Fourth Century of the Planting of the Cross on the Pearl Fishery Coast 1535–1935* (Tiruchirapalli, 1935), p. 13,.

clear objects held in their view were thus of missionary and commercial in character. They were at once crusaders aiming at the propagation of Christianity and merchant adventurers whose goal was the control of the sea-borne trade between India and the West. In their endeavours the Portuguese government at home also extended its support and thus behind the efforts of the missionaries was there an organized political power, which of course both aided and embarassed the missionaries.[38]

The Portuguese regime helped the missionaries in gaining footholds which served as their operational base and also by giving active support to the work of proselytization. Within the Portuguese territories, people were forced to accept Christianity and to be instructed in the tenets of that faith. In some cases the hope of Portuguese protection from the tyranny of the local Polygars and Arab merchants also encouraged the request for baptism. In the spread of Christianity material interests also had their role to play. Converts were provided with posts in the customs, exempted from impressment in the navy, and support by the distribution of rice.[39]

In A.D. 1517 the Portuguese established a settlement at Colombo in Ceylon and from there they were trying to establish themselves on the Tinnevelly Coast and in the Gulf of Mannar. It becomes evident that even before that date the Portuguese had explored the whole of the Tinnevelly Coast and made themselves acquainted with the lucrative pearl trade to which their attention had been turned by Vasco da Gama. At this time, this area was though nominally under the Nayaks of Madurai, the vassal power of Vijayanagar, the soverign ruler who had real hold over the Tinnevelly Coast was Sri Vira Ravi Varma, the king of Travancore.[40]

**Conversion of the Paravas**:

As already pointed out, the conditions of the Paravas on the Tinnevelly Coast were becoming miserable and they were groaning under the oppressive yoke of the Arabs. The helpless Paravas were eagerly looking around for some one to come to their rescue. At this critical juncture only that the Portuguese appeared on the scene as Saviours. Acting on the timely advice of one John de Cruz, a Nayar convert from Calicut then in exile at Tuticorin, who was also an eye witness to the Muslim atrocities, the Paravas decided to convert themselves to Christianity under the Portuguese banner which appeared to the Paravas as a symbol of hope and protection.[41]

38. Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, III (New York and London, 1939), p. 249 Cf.
    R. Sathiyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura* (Madras : 1924), pp. 3–4.
39. L. S. S. O 'Malley (ed.), *Modern India and the West: A Study of the Interaction of their Civilizations*, Reprint. (London : Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 45.
40. Robert Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 68 ; Cf. R. Sathianatha Aiyar, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
41. *Ibid.*

Counselled by John de Cruz, the Paravas sent fifteen of their *Jātithalaivans* (caste headmen) who were also called as *Pattamgattis* to the Portuguese at Cochin. The Portuguese Captain at Cochin at that time was Pedro Vaz de Amaral and he received the Parava leaders with kindness. He assured them of Portuguese help, however, on condition that they all as a community embraced the Christian faith. In order to demonstrate their determination, seventy more of the prominent Paravas from Tuticorin came down to Cochin and endorsed their decision.[42]

The Portuguese who had the express desire of seizing the Pearl Fishery lost no time in making arrangements to supervise the Fishery Coast. One Joao Froles was already appointed by the King of Portugal as the Captain and Factor of the Pearl Fishery.[43] And as the Paravas were promising to become Christians, it was not difficult for the Portuguese to exact a rent of 1,500 '*Cruzados*' per annum from the *jātilhalaivans*. Froles was left with a small force to guard the Pearl Fishery and enforce payment.[44]

In the meanwhile, the Muslims, fearing that the Paravas and the lucrative pearl fishery would slip away from their control, despatched two envoys to Cochin to bribe the Portuguese Captain, Pedro Vaz de Amaral and to prevent him from baptizing the Paravas. But it was all in vain. "Heaps of gold", said the Captain, "would never make him desist from his purpose." He then had the eighty-five Paravas baptized by the Vicar General Michael Vaz. Soon an expedition was fitted out and Father Michael Vaz and four other priests accompanied the fleet.[45] On their arrival on the Coast, the Portuguese completely routed the Muslims and burnt many of their boats. They then baptized about 20,000 Paravas scatterd over some thirty villages.[46] "And that is how our Lord saved so many lives by means of one torn ear-lobe", said the Portuguese.[47]

**The Muslim Retaliation:**

Having failed to win over the Portuguese through gratification, the disappointed Muslims made a last and desperate attempt to restore their influence on the Tinnevelly Coast and get back the Pearl trade. They spent sufficient time in preparation and in their efforts they were assured of help from the Zamorin of Calicut also. Towards the end of A. D. 1537 three captains of the Zamorin—Pate Marakkar, Cunhale Marakkar and Ali Ibrahim

42. Rev. H. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara* (Madras: 1927), p. 119.
43. P. Dahmen, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
44. James Hornell, *The Sacred Chank of India*, p. 4.
45. Rev. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
46. John Nieuhoff, *Voyages and Travels into Brazil and the East Indies*, II, p. 296; Cf. Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
47. D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, I, p. 118.

Marakkar sailed with fifty large, heavily equipped boats with 2000 crew to the Fishery Coast. They aided the Christian villages of the Paravas, seized their boats and in the absence of the Portuguese Captain at Tuticorin, plundered and burnt down Tuticorin, killing or capturing a number of converts.[48]

On hearing this terrifying news about the atrocities of the Muslims, the Portuguese at Cochin despatched contingents under Martin Alphonso de Souza on 28th January, 1538. On the way,De Souza seized some boats of Pate Marakkar and delivered them to the vengeance of the inhabitants of Tuticorin. Before day break De Souza attacked the Muslims from the sea and made their escape impossible by setting fire to all the boats of the Muslims. A terrible fight took place with varying fortunes on both sides. On seeing their ships burning, the Muslims lost every hope of escape and ran landwards in wild panic. At 10 a.m. the battle was decided, 800 dead Muslims covered the battlefield and the whole camp, 2000 muskets and many other weapons, 22 warproas, and Pate Marakkar's gorgeous tent with the State parasol were left at the disposal of the Portuguese and the Paravas. At the end of the battle the Portuguese who espoused the cause of the Paravas emerged victorious. The Portuguese and the Paravas hilariously apportioned the rich booty left behind the Muslims. As a compensation for all the losses they suffered, the Paravas once more burnt down Kayalpatnam, the important Muslim settlement on the Pearl Fishery Coast. The paravas were triumphant and the power of the Arab Muslims was utterly destroyed.[49]

Thus the Paravas were saved from the oppression of the Muslims. But they could no longer have their own chiefs and their customary laws to govern their affairs, for they were now placed under the dual control of the priests and the Portuguese civil authorities. They had to forego their freedom in lieu of the Portuguese became masters of the Fishery Coast and claimed both religious and political supremacy over the Paravas who were deemed as Portuguese subjects. John Nieuhoff, while relating in his *Travels* about the incidents of A.D. 1533 in the fishery coast says: "The Nayak of Madura left the Portuguese in full possession of their jurisdiction over the Paravas and of the free exercise of their religion."[50] The new masters settled upon the Paravas some rights and privileges so firmly that the local Rajas no longer dared to interfere with the Paravas or attempted to impede or abridge their prerogative. On the contrary, the local Rajas were forced to admit separate laws for the Paravas from those which bound their other subjects. Thus the conversion

48. D. Ferroli, *op. cit.*, pp. 118—120.
49. John Nieuhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
50. James Hornell, *The Indian Pearl Fisheries of Gulf of Mannar and Palk Bay*, p. 14.

of the Paravas by Father Vaz had two important results. First, the breaking up of the Muslim power on the Fishery Coast and second, the opening up of the Gulf region to the missionary activities of the Jesuits.

The Paravas who feared that the Muslims would force them to embrace Islam had by their own will decided to become Christians, of course compelled by forces beyond their control. When the fear of physical insecurity and persecution left them, the converts, who had no deep faith in Christianity because of lack of sufficient teaching and spiritual nourishment, waited for an opportunity to relapse into the faith of their forefathers. Moreover, most of their relatives who remained Hindus scoffed at them and treated them as outcastes. So, the majority of the converts began to throw off Christianity in favour of their old religion. This tendency was arrested by the arrival of St. Francis Xavier to the Fishery Coast.

IV

**Crux of the Matter :**

Between A. D. 1532 and 1542, within ten years, the Portuguese were able to overthrow the Arabs by slaying their chiefs and breaking their power completely. They consolidated their gains and got themselves firmly established at Manapadu, Punnaikkayal, Tuticorin and Vembar. The Pearl Fishery of the Gulf of Mannar had also fallen into their hands.

The year A. D. 1542 is an important land mark in the history of the Paravas of the Gulf region, for it marks the advent of the saintly and devoted Francis Xavier. His arrival created a 'new and powerful influence'. His ascetic habits and austere life greatly appealed to the Indian sentiments. With great concern for the Paravas whose spiritual life was greatly neglected, Xavier laboured unceasingly and as a result there appears to have been a second wave of mass conversions among the Paravas of the Fishery Coast.[51] The missionary work of Francis Xavier bore the character of a peaceful penetration of the Portuguese mission which was actively supported by the Portuguese civil government

The proselytizing activities of the Portuguese and their unchallenged control over the pearl trade added great dimensions to the Gulf politics. The conversion of the Paravas to Christianity caused a lot of heart-burning to the rulers of Vijayanagar who were the sovereign power over the Gulf of Mannar. The change of religion of the Paravas was interpreted as an act involving a change of allegiance from their Indian rulers namely the Nayaks of Madurai and the Vijayanagar Emperor to the alien King of Portugal.[52] Francis

51. L.S.S. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Cf. K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–54.
52. Sathianatha Aiyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14 and 91.

Xavier in one of his letters to a colleague speaks of the Paravas as "subjects of his Portuguese Majesty" and that these Paravas were conferred upon by their new masters "some what dangerous privileges" for being their subjects.[53] Moreover, we learn from the same source that the entire Civil and Criminal jurisdiction of the Fishery Coast had been seized upon by the Portuguese and that all dues and taxes, including the valuable revenue arising from the pearl fishery had been assumed by the Governors appointed by the Portuguese Viceroys. All this amounted to a diversion of revenues which was but a loss to the State only. Further the Portuguese had not asked any native potentate's consent to found their settlements on the Fishery Coast.[54] All these constituted a direct challenge to the authority of Vijayanagar.

Hence the anger of the Vijayanagar authorities was greatly kindled against the Portuguese and the Paravas. The imperial regent Ramaraya was not in a mood to lose such an industrious people as the paravas and the rich harvest of pearls into the hands of the Portuguese who entered the country as freebooters. Besides the missionary activities of the Portuguese which seemed to have created great fear in the mind of Ramaraya, there were other reasons too which made Ramaraya highly indignant. Martin Afonso de Souza, the 'most rapacious' of the Portuguese governors of Goa, organized a plundering raid on the temples of Kanchipuram and other South Indian pilgrim centres which were famous for their wealth in the form of gold and diamond jewels.[55]. Further the religious rivalry between the Portuguese missionaries and the Brahmins of Tiruchendur was yet another cause which made the Vijayanagar intervention necessary. John Nieuhoff relates as follows: "There was a pagan temple called Tiruchendur against which and the priests there of, the Portuguese would frequently utter very injurious words, which so exasperated the inhabitants that they entered into a league with the Badagas of Narasinga in order to drive the Christians from thence."[56] The aggressive religious and political attitude of the Portuguese might have been another cause that warranted stern action by Vijayanagar.[57] Therefore, Ramaraya despatched an army under his cousin Vithalaraya to the Tamil country, instructing him to bring the Paravas back under the Vijayanagar rule and also to teach an unforgettable lesson to the Portuguese and the recalcitrant ruler of Travancore.[58]

The Badagas (corruption of the term 'Vadugas', meaning people from the north) were the Telugu-speaking Nayak

53. Robert Caldwell, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Further Sources on Vijayanagar*, p. 246.
56. *Christian College Magazine*, XXII,pp. 180–191.
57. A. Krishnaswami, *op. cit.*, p. 218.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

emissaries and the 'collectors of royal taxes'. They were more formidable than the Moors. The Badagas were determined to expel the Christians, both native and foreigners, from the Fishery Coast.[59] They committed all sorts of havoc on the Christian Paravas who became their immediate target. The letters of Francis Xavier frequently describe and pathetically deplores the ravages of the Badagas.

According to one of the letters of Francis Xavier dated 3rd August, 1544 Vithalaraya, after having dealt with the rebellious ruler of Travancore, turned his attention towards the Fishery Coast and over ran it without much difficulty.[60] From the same letter we read the following as: "The boats must be thrown into the sea in time and the people might embark when the occasion demands. Because I am sure that the Badagas will attack and capture the Christians."[61] In his next letter dated 19th August, 1544 Xavier wrote that the Christians had fled to the forest since the Badagas had robbed them their property and stabbed two men, one a Christian and the other a Hindu. Most of the Paravas sought refuge in the small islands beyond Cape Comorin leaving the country to the fury of the Badagas.[62]

The Badagas also attacked Punnaikkayal and burnt down the houses and boats belonging to the Portuguese Captain who fled with his followers to a lonely island nearby where conditions were still worse. Tuticorin was also swept away by the Vijayanagar army and Vithalaraya made the town his temporary residence.[63] The plight of the poor Christians and the Portuguese Captain is well described by Francis Xavier in a letter to Mansilhas from Manappadu dated 5th September, 1544. He writes: "I am anxious about the Christians of Tuticorin who are in the greatest possible misery. Go atonce with all the boats at Kombutturai and Punnaikayal and Tiruchendur. I conjure you, by our Lord, never let it be that Beterbemali (Vathalaraya), the leader of these robber Badagas and all his horde of plundering ruffians, should have their hearts' desire fulfilled, that remnants of this most afflicted people should perish of hunger and thirst."[64]

In yet another letter Xavier describes the misery of the refugees near Cape Comorin as follows: "It was indeed pitiful to see them. Some had nothing to eat; others had become blind on account of their age and hardships; many were married men and their wives brought forth children while enroute and there were many pitiful things; had you

---

59. Robert Caldwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 70–71.
60. A. Krishnaswami, *op. cit.*, p 237.
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*
64. H. J. Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, (London: 1861), I, p. 211.

seen them you would, I am sure, have pitied them more than myself."[65] Therefore, Xavier used a variety of means for protecting the converts from the Badaga onslaught. One of such means was his intercession in their behalf with the king of Travancore who was not well disposed towards Vijayanagar and the Nayaks of Madurai. Siding him in their conflict with the Badagas, Xavier tried to mitigate the misery of the converts.

The punitive expedition of Vithala no doubt checked the Portuguese activities on the Fishery Coast but it was only for the time being. The Portuguese, having known well the value of the lucrative pearl trade, were least prepared to give up their control over the pearl fishery and the Christian Paravas. So, the moment the Vijayanagar army was withdrawn, the Portuguese renewed their activities and became busy in strengthening their positions on the Coast.

In 1549 at Vedalai, a village near Rameswaram, they erected a mud fort and posted a garrison of forty soldiers under the command of one Joao Fernandez Correa. Further the Portuguese forcibly extracted money from all the Hindu pilgrims who visited the Temple at Rameswaram. As the Pilgrims were forced to pay toll to the Portuguese, the income of the Brahmin priests at Rameswaram dwindled and therefore the agrieved priests lodged a complaint to Vithalaraya through the Setupati of Ramnad.[66]

These developments in the south brought the second invasion of the Badagas. Six thousand soldiers marched against Vedalai and the Portuguese were hunted from pillar to post. In their operations against the Portuguese, the Badagas were greatly assisted by the affected Muslims who were turned off the coast earlier by the Portuguese. When the situation became unmanageble, the Portuguese Commander Joao Fernandez Correa, taking some Paravas with him, ran away and took shelter in an island off the coast. A number of Paravas and Portuguese were murdered and the others were reduced to captivity. An Italian priest by name Antonio Criminali was killed while trying to rescue the Christian converts at Vedalai. The Chapel and the fort at Vedalai were razed to the ground. The victorious Badagas who were in a jubilant mood advanced to Rameswaram and took a holy bath in the sea.[67]

Two years later in A.D. 1551 the peace on the Fishery Coast was again disturbed by the Badagas. They captured a young Portuguese Jesuit Father named Paolo de Valle. But the Paravas by their unexpected appearance in the Badaga camp rescued the Jesuit priest. This action of the Paravas provoked yet another invasion of the Badagas. However, some understanding developed between the two and a compromise was arrived at by which the Paravas agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Vijayanagar Viceroy at Madurai, and

---

65. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
66. Heras, *op. cit.*, p. 156; A. Krishnaswami, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–40.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 158.

they were in turn assured of freedom from the Badaga menace. The tribute consisted of a day's fishing whose value amounted to 70,000 *pardaos*.[68]

Francis Xavier and his devoted colleagues laboured hard for the conversion of the Paravas but their labours were not crowned with adequate success. Further, the religious experience of the illiterate and superstitious Paravas gave much cause for anxiety. The converts were not properly educated in the fundamental truths of Christianity. Their religion was only skin-deep and they knew only the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer and nothing more.[69] Except some superficial changes like that of names, there was no real transformation of life. This could be clearly understood by an observation made by S. P. Rice in his "Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life, 1901". He writes that the fishermen "who live in the extreme south are devout Catholics, and have preserved the Portuguese names by which their fathers were baptized into the Church, so that, incongruous as it sounds, Josi Fernandez and Maria Santiago are but humble folk, catching fish in a primitive way, with no more clothing on, than a small loin cloth and a picture of the Virgin."[70] The dismal state of affairs on the Fishery Coast and the apparent failure of his ministry made Xavier greatly disappointed. So, after some time, despaired of any success commensurate with his hopes, Xavier left for Japan. On the way he died in A. D. 1552.[71]

**Conclusion :**

From the foregoing statements it becomes clear that the activities of the Arab Muslims and the Catholic Portuguese on the Fishery Coast had greater significance in the political context of medieval Tamilnad. All of them were basically interested in capturing the monopoly of the lucrative peral trade and bringing the industrious pearl-fishing Paravas into their respective folds. All their activities were steered towards this end only. Deep-rooted economic interests guided the affairs of the Arab Muslims and the Portuguese. In the case of missionaries like St. Francis the motive force might have been purely religious.

The aggressive attitude and the unlawful activities of the Portuguese were viewed with disfavour, for they posed a direct challenge to the paramount power of Vijayanagar. And the conversion of the Paravas was interpreted as an act that involved a change of allegiance or

68. *Couto* VII, p. 249 quoted in A. Krishnaswami, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
69. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Cf. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
70. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras: Govt. Press, 1909), VI, pp. 140—44.
71. O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 50. Cf. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

fealty from the Emperor of Vijayanagar to the king of Portugal. It is this undercurrent of political activities of the Portuguese Missionaries that occasionally brought the native powers down upon the Portuguese in India. So, we hear of missionary persecution and religious intolerance of the otherwise tolerant Nayak rulers of Madurai and their overlords at Vijayanagar. Very often these politicians who came in the guise of traders behaved in an indifferent manner not taking serious note of the native ruler in whose territory they carried on their lucrative pearl trade and religious propagation. Hence, attempts on the part of the native ruler were made to assert his suzerainty now and then. This we could notice vividly in the occasional outbursts of anger on the part of the Badagas, the representatives of Vijayanagar and the Sethupathis of Ramnad.

Things became all the more complicated when the bilateral contest between the Moors and the Portuguese became a triangular conflict with the entry of the Dutch in A.D. 1602. Between A.D. 1602 and 1658 the Portuguese and the Dutch locked up in a bitter struggle for power and control over the lucrative pearl trade from which the Dutch eventually emerged victorious. In the vortex of power politics and commercial rivalries the Paravas were caught up helplessly. Very often they were used as a valuable pawn on the chess board of colonial politics in medieval Tamilnad. No one seems to have been guided by the enlightened principle of helping the Paravas who were in a state of insecurity. On the other hand the helpless situation of the Paravas was successfully exploited both by the Arabs and the Portuguese. They were more interested in serving their own ends than helping the Paravas whom they tried to keep perpetually dependent either politically or religiously.

# The Place of Grammatical Relations in Language Description

**K. RANGAN**

## Introduction

From a recent conference that was conducted in 1979 at the campus of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, U.S.A., we come to know that there are 14 varieties of syntactic theories available at present[1]. Of course, one may dismiss some of the theories describing them as notational variants. Since I am not familiar with many of these theories, I do not see any justification to claim that the theory I am advocating below is the only one which describes the language successfully. People of my generation and seniors too might have felt that the life span of many syntactic theories was too short. The one who rigorously defends a particular theory gives up that theory within no time. One gets a confused picture of linguistic scene at present. Linguists of my generation who were introduced to the theory of transformational generative grammar around 1965 and who nourished the hope of having achieved a coherent model to describe the structure of language found their hope to become an illusion. Probably I present a gloomy and pessimistic outlook of the present state of syntax. However we may look at the entire development (if we could be permitted to use the word 'development') from a different angle and learn a lesson from it[2]. Instead of attaching much importance to the appearance or disappearance of a model, we may look for the insights provided by a particular model. The insights may probably be incorporated in other models also. For me the significance of a model does not lie on its life span but rather lies on the insight or explanation it offers to understand the nature of language. I should confess here that my knowledge in Relational Grammar (RG) is severely constrained because much of the literature remains underground and not accessible to me.

The goal of linguistic theory is to characterize precisely the essential properties of human language. It is concerned with the construction of a comprehensive general theory of the

1. The proceedings of this conference has been published by the Academic Press. It has come out as *Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 13: Current Approaches to Syntax* edited by Edith A. Moravcsik and Jessica R. Wirth (1980)

2. Probably one may believe that linguistics is struggling to become a matured science. The other way one could develop the optimistic outlook about the present state of linguistic science is that it is the nature of all social sciences to have different schools of thought. There is no need to interpret the present state of our art as the sign of weakness of the discipline or a particular school of thought.

structure and organization of language. In other words, it attempts to characterize the properties of universal grammar (UG). The hypothesis that languages differ in indefinite number of ways is uninteresting and unrevealing.

The theory, as Perlmutter (1980 : 195) puts it, has to explain in what ways do natural languages differ, and in what ways are they all alike. In order to explain the fact how natural languages differ, the theory has to characterize the notion "natural language" that defines the class of natural languages. The grammar of an individual language must be adequate and insightful and explain the data from that language.

The adequacy of grammar depends on the range of data it covers and explains. The kinds and range of data that a grammar is supposed to explain are conditioned by the theoretical framework of the grammar. It is the theory that provides the terms to express the generalizations of a particular language. The theory has two duties to perform. First it must be powerful enough to construct an adequate and insightful grammar of individual languages. Secondly it is to provide the means to express the cross linguistic generalizations i.e., the theory is expected to have the devices by means of which the essential properties of human languages are stated.

Within the framework of Structural Linguistics it is assumed that each language has its own structure. Any similarity between $L_1$ and $L_2$ is described either in terms of genetic relationship or accidental. In some cases the similarity may be due to the contact between $L_1$ and $L_2$. No plausible explanation is available within this theoretical framework when one comes across certain similarities between $L_1$ and $L_2$ which are not genetically related and not spoken in geographically contiguous area.

**Relational Grammar – An Overview**

Dissatisfaction with the Standard Theory (ST) led the followers in the transformational generative grammar camp to propose alternative theories. One such theory which I would like to examine here is the Relational Grammar (RG) proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1974) recently. The main thrust of this theory is to show the role of relations in linguistic theory. The ST claims that the transformational rules operate exclusively on the abstract structures represented in terms of formal/structural categories such as S, NP, N, V etc. The rules are not sensitive either to the semantic aspects or grammatical functions of the categories. The Case Grammar and Generative Semantics take an extreme position that the transformational rules are sensitive to the semantic aspects of the categories. The Relational Grammarians argue that the rules are sensitive to the relations (both semantic and grammatical) and a number of significant generalizations can be captured only when the relations are primitive in linguistic theory and not derivative as in the ST.

The traditional grammars have recognized the grammatical relations for the purpose of description. The relationship between active sentence and passive sentence is described in terms of grammatical relations. Jespersen

(1955 : 104) describes the relationship between active and passive sentences in terms of the following formula.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | S | $V_a$ | 0 | = | S | $V_p$ |
| 1. | Jack | loves | Jill | | Jill is | loved |
| | | | | | | 0 by Jack |

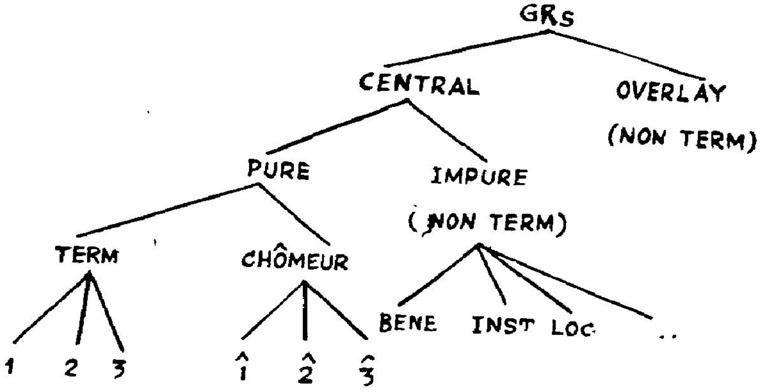
Jack : $S^a = 0^p$

Jill : $0^a = S^p$

One of the ways to capture the relationship between these sentences is to make statements which use the concepts of grammatical relations. A significant achievement of the transformational generative grammar is its attempts to make explicit and formal statements expressed in informal statements in traditional grammars. It has often been pronounced that the transformational generative grammar is a kind of explicit formulation of the generalizations expressed in traditional grammars. Though the attempt is toward that direction, it is not complete in its achievement.

First I will present an outline of Relational Grammar.[3] The Relations are divided into two kinds : (i) PURE and (ii) IMPURE. TERM and NON-TERM are also used in the place of pure and impure relations. The grammatical relations like BENEFACTIVE, INSTRUMENTAL, LOCATIVE, etc. are NON TERM or IMPURE relations. These non term relations have independent semantic content unlike the term relations like SUBJECT, OBJECT, etc. Sentence is viewed as a network of these relations. The following presents a simplified diagram of relations.

2.




| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Subject | 1. | Chômeur |
| 2. | Direct Object | 2. | Chômeur |
| 3. | Indirect Object | 3. | Chômeur |

I will explain some of the terms used in RG before I take up the rules and constraints formulated. The relations presented in the above diagram are R-signs. In addition to these relations the following kinds of primitive linguistic elements are required in linguistic theory (Perlmutter 1980 : 190)

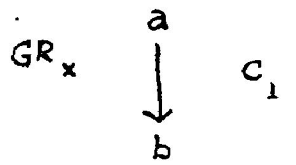
3. The presentation of this section is mainly based on the class notes of David Perlmutter who gave a course on Relational Grammar in 1976 at MIT and his article on Relational Grammar appeared in *Syntax and Semantics*: *Vol. 13* (1980).

3. (a) a set of nodes representing linguistic elements

   (b) a set of co-ordinates to show the levels at which elements bear grammatical relations to other elements.

The relationship of an element with other element is shown as follows in RG framework.

4.



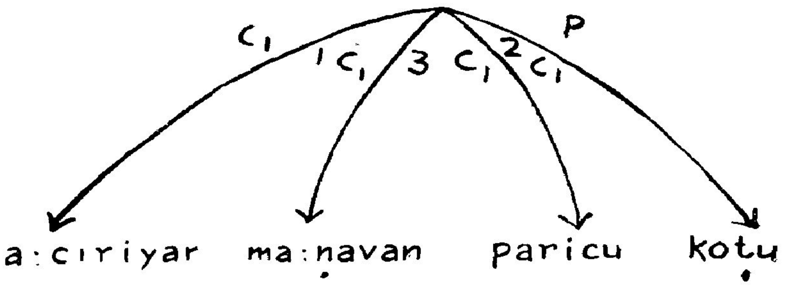

class of possible linguistic levels and constraints on the possible combinations of these elements in relational networks (RNs).

Let us take some sentences from Tamil and see how they are described in RG framework.

5. a : ciriyar — ma : ṇavan-ukku
   teacher — student–to

   oru paricu — koṭu-tt-a : r
   a prize — give–past–PNG

‘the teacher gave a prize to the student’




$GR_x$ represents the grammatical relation of the element *b* with the element *a*. $C_i$ indicates the stratum at which $GR_x$ is shown. *a* is the HEAD of the arc and *b* the TAIL. A complete account of clause structure, as Perlmutter (1980 : 199) puts it, has to specify the class of linguistic elements, the class of primitive grammatical relations, the

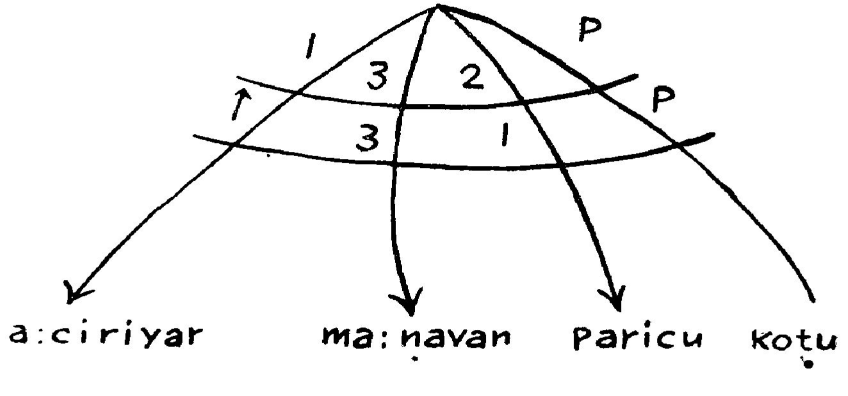
The stratum $C_1$ may be represented by a line as shown in the following diagram of the corresponding passive sentence.

7. oru paricu — ma : ṇavan-ukku
   a prize — student-to

   a : ciriyar–a : l — koṭukka (p)–paṭ–ṭ–atu
   teacher–by — give–pass–past–PNG

‘A prize was given to the student by the teacher’

8.

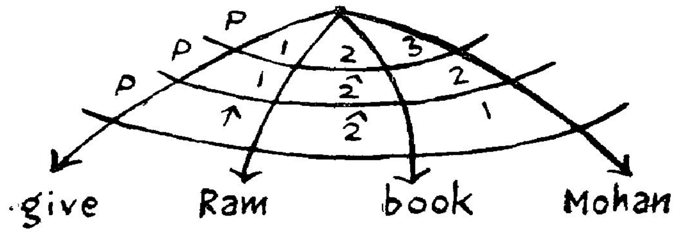


The same information may be given in a stratal matrix also.

9. a:ciriyar ma:ṇavan paricu koṭu
   1 3 2 P
   $\hat{1}$ 3 1 P

Sentence (10) from English is represented as follows.

10. Mohan was given a book by Ram




The initial stratum of (10) is P 1 2 3. In the next stratum the rule changes the relation 3 to 2. i.e, Indirect Object (IO) becomes Direct Object (DO). 2 of the initial stratum loses its grammatical relation and becomes a chômeur. In the third stratum 2 becomes 1.

**Chômeur Relation**

A nominal is said to be in chômeur relation when it ceases to bear any relation with other element. Consider the following sentences

11. John presented a book to Mary
    1 V 2 3

12. John presented Mary a book
    1 V 2 $\hat{2}$

$\hat{2}$ indicates that the Direct Object of the initial stratum becomes a chômeur. Similarly in passive construction the subject of the initial stratum is put in chômeur relation.

13. Mary saw John
    1 V 2

14. John was seen by Mary
    1 V $\hat{1}$

The Relational Annihilation Principle (RAL) formulated by Perlmutter and Postal states that 'when an NP, $NP_i$, assumes the grammatical relation G born by another NP, $NP_j$ $(i \neq j)$ then $NP_j$ ceases to bear G and in chômage' (Johnson 1977 : 55) The NP *Mary* in (12) assumes the grammatical relation of *book* and as a consequence of this the nominal *book* ceases to bear any GR with other element. Similarly the nominal *John* assumes the GR of *Mary* in (14) and *Mary* is put in chômeur relation.

Let us discuss the necessity of having such a relation in a theory of grammar. Does it help us to understand the nature of language ? Are there data which may be explained in terms of this concept ? I will attempt here to show how this concept offer explanation in some data in Tamil and in other languages.

15. ci:ta: toṭṭi–(y)–il ni:r–ai
    Sita tank–in water–acc
    nirapp–in–a:ḷ
    fill–past-PNG
    'Sita filled water in the tank'

From (15) the following relative clauses may be formed

16. toṭṭi(y)-il ni:r–ai
    tank–in water–acc
    nirapp–i(y)–a ci:ta:
    fill–past–ple.m Sita
    'Sita who filled water in the tank'

17. ci:ta: toṭṭi(y)-il nirapp-i(y)-a ni:r
Sita tank-in fill-past-ple·m water
'the water which Sita fill in the tank'

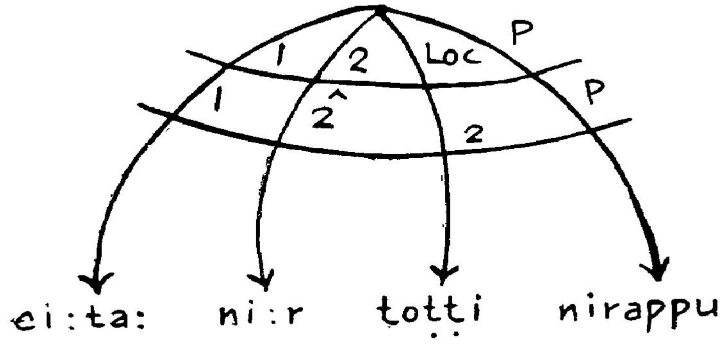
18. ci:ta: ni:r-ai nirapp-i(y)-a toṭṭi
Sita water-acc fill-past-ple·m tank
'the tank in which Sita filled water'

From these examples, we generalize that in Tamil the subject NP, the object NP and locative phrase can be relativized. Consider the sentence (19) related to (15)

19. ci:ta: toṭṭi(y)-ai
Sita tank-acc
ni:r-a:l nirapp-in-a:ḷ
water-with fill-past-PNG
'Sita filled the tank with water'

The locative phrase *toṭṭiyil* in (15) becomes 2 in (19) and 2 of the initial stratum chômeur in (19). This may be shown as

20.




Both *ci:ta:* and *toṭṭi* may undergo relativization because they are 1 and 2 in the final stratum.

21. toṭṭi(y)-ai ni:r-a:l nirapp-i(y)-a
tank-acc water-with fill-past-ple·m.
ci:ta:
Sita
'Sita who filled the tank with water'

22. ci:ta:ni:r-a:l nirapp-i(y)-a toṭṭi
Sita water-with fill-past-ple·m tank
'The tank which Sita filled with water'

23. *ci:ta: toṭṭi(y)-ai nirapp-i(y)-a ni:r
Sita tank-acc fill-past-ple·m water
'The water with which Sita filled the tank'

It appears that since the nominal *ni:r* ceases to bear any grammatical relation with other element, it resists to undergo the process of relativization. It is possible to hypothesize tenatively that the nominal of chômeur relation does not undergo relativization. This observation may further be strengthened by the following data in Tamil.

24. amerikka: viyaṭna:m-ai(t)
America Vietnam-acc
ta:kk-i(y)-atu
attack-past-PNG
'America attacked Vietnam'

25. viyaṭna:m-ai(t) ta:kk-i(y)-a
Vietnam-acc attack-past-ple.m
amerikka:
America
'America that attacked Vietnam'

26. amerikka: ta:kk-i(y)-a viyaṭna:m
America attack-past-ple·m Vietnam
'Vietnam which America attacked'

The active sentence (24) allows both the subject and object nominals to be relativized. Consider the corresponding passive sentence.

27. viyaṭna:m amerikka:(v)-a:l
Vietnam America-by
ta:kka(p)-paṭ-ṭ-atu
attack-pass-past-PNG
'Vietnam was attacked by America'

28. amerikka:(v)-a:l ta:kka (p)-paṭ-ṭ-a
America-by attack-past-ple.m
viyaṭna:m
Vietnam.
'Vietnam which was attacked by America'

29. *viyaṭnam ta:kka (p)-paṭ-ṭ-a
Vietnam attack-pass-past-ple.m
amerika:
America
'America by which Vietnam was attacked'

(29) is rejected as ungrammatical. Since the Direct Object NP of the initial stratum assumes the subject relation in the final stratum, the subject NP of the initial stratum becomes a chômeur in the final stratum. As predicted earlier, the passive sentence allows the subject NP to be relativized but not the NP which is in chômeur relation.

Similar situation is found in Indonesian language also (Chung 1976)[4]. Direct Object is relativized in Indonesian language with complementizer *yang*.

30. ali membawa surat ini
Ali TRANS/bring letter this
kepada saya
to I
'Ali brought this letter to me'

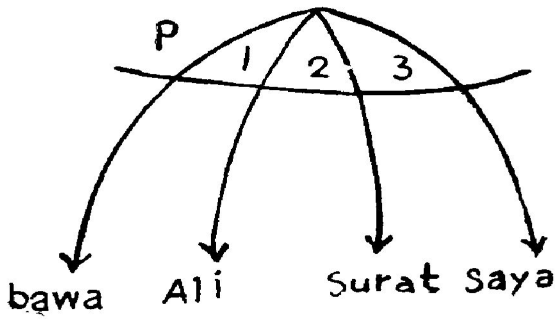
31. surat yang ali bawa kepada saya
letter that Ali bring to I
'the letter that Ali brought to me'

Sentence (32) is synonymous with (30). It is not possible to relativize *surat* with *yang* in that sentence.

32. ali membawakan saya surat ini
'Ali brought me this letter'

*33. surat yang ali membawakan saya
'the letter that Ali brought me'

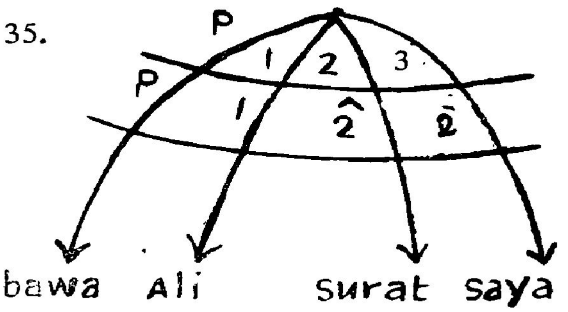
34. represents the sentence (30) in RG network.




4. These data are drawn from Perlmutter (1980 : 216–217)

35. represents the network of (32)

35.




In the final stratum *surat* is $\hat{2}$ and therefore it is not accessible to relativization. Since *surat* is 2 in (30) relativization of 2 is possible. Both in Tamil and in Indonesian language the concept of chômeur explains why some of the nominals are not accessible to the process of relativization.

Perlmutter (1980: 219–222) has drawn some data from Swahili and attempted to explain why in some cases the Verb Agreement rule with the DO fails to apply. Swahili has the following Verb Agreement Rule:

36. The verb agrees with the noun class of the nominal heading a final stratum 2-arc.

37. msichana a-li(*u*)-fungu-mlango
girl 1-PST-2 open-INDC door
'The girl opened the door'

*-u-* is the agreement marker that agrees with DO *mlango*. Swahili has a rule which advances 3 to 2.

38. johni a-li-m-p-a
john 1-PST-2-give-INDC
makunga zawadi
nurse present
'John gave the nurse the present'

The marker-*m-* indicates that the agreement is between the verb and the nominal *mkunga*. Perlmutter (1980;220) reports that Comrie has observed that agreement with notional 2 is impossible in (38). It is observed further that *mkunga* passivizes naturally while *zawadi* does not. Comrie makes the observation that *no DO agreement is possible* in passive sentence.

39. mkunga alipewa zawadi na johni
'The nurse was given the present by John'

The RN of (38) and (39) may be shown as

40.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| P | johni | zawadi | mkunga |
| P | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| P | 1 | $\hat{2}$ | 2 |

41.

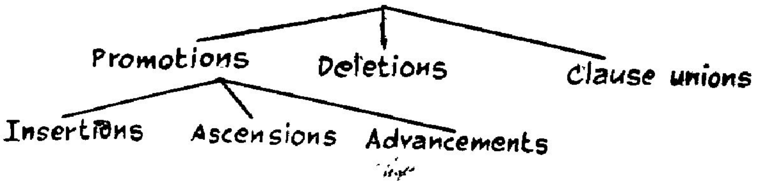
| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| P | johni | zawadi | mkunga |
| P | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| P | 1 | $\hat{2}$ | 2 |
| P | $\hat{1}$ | $\hat{2}$ | 1 |

From the matrics given above, we know that the nominal *zawadi*, 2 of the initial stratum, becomes $\hat{2}$ in the final stratum. (36) states that the verb agreement is with the nominal heading a final stratum 2-arc. Since the nominal *zawadi* looses its relation, it is not qualified to function as a controller to trigger the Verb Agreement Rule.

The data we examined from Tamil, Indonesian and Swahili indicate the gap in the description. This gap could successfully be explained if the theory of language incorporates the notion chômeur relation in its description.

**Rules in RG**

Rules may be classified into two kinds: (i) those that change the grammatical relations and those (ii) that do not change the grammatical relations. Rules such as passive, dative movement and Subject–to-Object raising alter the grammatical relations of the nominals whereas rules such as verb agreement, case assignment, reflexivization, etc. do not alter the grammatical relations. Within the framework of RG, the rules that change the grammatical relations are classified into three. They are promotions, deletions, and clause unions. Promotion rules are further sub-classified into insertions, ascensions and advancements. They may be shown as




All advancements are clause-internal and ascensions may be clause-internal or cross-clause. Advancements are cases where a given NP holding a particular grammatical relation $GR_i$ to $V_x$ assumes another grammatical relation $GR_j$ where $GR_j < GR_i$ on the relational hierarchy.

42. ko:valan ma:tavi(y)-a:l
    Kovalan Madhavi-by
    kavara(p)-paṭ-ṭ-a:n
    attract-pass-past-PNG
    'Kovalan was attracted by Madhavi'

The corresponding active sentence is

43. ma : tavi ko : valan–ai (k)
    Madhavi Kovalan-acc
    kavar-nt-a : ]
    attract-past-PNG
    'Madhavi attracted Kovalan'

The nominal *ma : tavi* which is 2 is advanced to 1 in (43). The rule that has altered the grammatical relation of the nominal from 2 to 1 is an advancement rule. Predicate raising is an ascension rule which involves the replacement of some NP, the Host, which is a term of a given clause, by another NP which is part of the host (Johnson 1977 : 155). Quantifier Floating is an ascension rule.

44. All of the boys are here ⟶

45. The boys are all here

**Relational Hierarchy**

There are two ways when one attempts to formulate universal hypothesis. One may study a particular language and formulate an universal hypothesis which could be tested later by studying other languages. The alternative approach is to study certain number or kinds of languages to formulate an universal hypothesis. Keenan and Comrie (1977) surveyed different languages and formulated a hypothesis called Accessibility Hierarchy (AH). Chomsky (1973), on the other hand proposes universal conditions on the basis of data drawn from English. The RG claims

that the grammatical relations form a hierarchy and a number of significant generalizations which are universal could be expressed only by a theory which incorporates the notions of grammatical relations.

**Relativization**

Let us examine some of the processes like relativization, subjectivization, reflexivization, and passivization briefly. Keenan and Comrie (1977) surveyed the relative clause formation (RCF) in over forty languages and proposed the following hypothesis.

46. If, by means of RCF a language can relativize an NP holding position X on the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), then it can relativize NPs holding position higher than X on the AH : S ≥ DO ≥ IO ≥ OO possessor – NP ≥ Object of Comparative particle.

In Tamil we have the following relative clauses.

47. na : n avan–ai(p) pa : r–tt–a *kaṭai*
I he–acc see–past–ple.m shop
'The shop in which I saw him'

48. tampi paḻatt–ai
brother fruit–acc
veṭṭ–i(y)–a katti
cut–past–ple.m knife
'The knife with which the brother cut'

The underlying structures of (47) and (48) are

49. na:n *kaṭai(y)–il* avan–ai(p)
I shop–in he–acc
pa : r–tt–e : n
see–past–PNG
'I saw him in the shop'

50. tampi *katti(y)–a:l* paḻatt–ai
brother knife–with fruit–acc
vaṭṭ–in–a : n
cut–past–PNG
'The brother cut the fruit with a knife'

The NPs *kaṭai* and *katti* are in LOC and INST relations in (49) and (50). The AH hypothesis predicts that when an NP holding position LOC or INST is relativizable, then the NPs holding the TERM relations are also accessible to the process of relativization. In Tamil, the nominals holding the TERM relations are also relativizable.

51. na:n cen–ṟ-a *u:r*
I go–past–ple·m village
'The village to which I went'

52. na:n kaṇ–ṭ–a *amerikka:*
I see–past–ple·m America
'America which I saw'

53. tu:ṅk–i(y)–a *kuḻantai*
sleep–past–ple·m child
'The child that slept'

The nominals *u:r*, *amerikka:* and *kuḻantai* are in IO, DO and S relations in the underlying sentences.

54. na:n u:r–ukku(c) cen–ṟ–e:n
I village–to go–past–PNG
'I went to the village'

55. na:n *amerikka:(v)–ai(k)*
I America–acc
kaṇ–ṭ–e:n
see–past–PNG
'I saw America'

56. *kuḷantai* tu:ṅk–i(y)–atu
child sleep–past–PNG
'The child slept'

**Reflexivization**

One may observe similar hierarchy in grammatical relations (RH) in the process of reflexivization also. The constituent which triggers reflexivization is the CONTROLLER and the constituent which undergoes reflexivization is the VICTIM. Let us examine the following sentences in Tamil.

57. ra:man *tan(n)–uṭane:(y)e:*
Raman self–with–emph
pe:ci(k)–koḷ–kiṟ–a:n
speak–refl–pres–PNG
'Raman speaks with himself'

58. ariñarkaḷ eppoḷutum
scholars always
taṅkaḷ–itame: (y)e:
selves–loc–emph
tavaṟu kaṇṭu–koḷ–kiṟ–a:rkaḷ
fault see–refl–pres–PNG
'The scholars find fault with themselves'

59. kaṇṇan *tanakk–a:ka* oru pustakam
Kannan self–for a book
va:ṅki(k)–koṇ–ṭ–a:n
buy –refl–past–PNG

The nominals *tannuṭane:ye:*, *tankaḷiṭame:* and *tanakka:ka* hold the grammatical relations SOC, LOC and BENE respectively. The relational hierarchy (RH) predicts that the nominals holding the relations DO and IO may also be reflexivized.

60. kamala: *tanakku* oru puṭavai
Kamala self–for a sari
va:ṅki(k) koṇ–ṭ–a:ḷ
purchase–refl–past–PNG
'Kamala bought a sari for herself'

61. ka:nti *tan(n)–ai(y)–e:*
Gandhi self–acc–emph
varutti(k)–koṇ–ṭ–a:r
torture-refl–past–PNG
'Gandhi tortured himself'

The controller which triggers reflexivization is the nominal holding S relation. A related condition is that the nominal which triggers reflexivization must be higher on the hierarchy than the nominal that is reflexivized. We find that the controller is a subject and the victim is a non subject.[5]

---

5. In English we have sentences in which the controller is a non-subject (Johnson 1977 : 166)

John talked *to Mary* about herself

John sold *the girl* to herself

John crossed *the wire* over itself

However the controller is higher on the rank than the victim.

**Subjectivization**

The RH predicts that 'if, in a language L, an NP, $NP_i$ which holds a grammatical relation say OO can be advanced to subjecthood then in L other NPs which hold TERM relations may also be advanced to subjecthood'. Different languages may follow different strategies. In Tamil we have examples to show the advancement of 2 to 1. In passive sentences, the 2 of the initial stratum is advanced to 1. But in Japanese one has both 3 ⟶ 1 and 2 ⟶ 1.

62. John–ga Mary–ni hon–o
John–sm Mary–io book–do
atae–ta[6]
give–past
'John gave a book to Mary'.

63. Hon–ga John–ni (yotte)
book–sm John–sc
Mary-ni–atae–rare–ta
Mary–io give passive–past
'A book was given to Mary by John'.

64. Mary–ga John–ni (yotte)
Mary–sm John–sc
hon–o atae–rare–ta
book–do give passive–past
'Mary was given a book by John'.

In (63), 2 becomes 1 and in (64) 3 is advanced to 1.

In Malagasy 00 ⟶ 1 is also possible.

65. atolo–dRasoa
is offered by
an–dRakoto–ny–vary
Rosoa to Rakoto the rice
'The Rice is offered to Rakoto by Rosoa'

66. toloran–dRasoa
is offered by
ny–vary Rakoto
Rasoa the rice Rakoto
'Rakoto is offered the rice by Rasoa'

67. nividianan'ny vehivavy ny vary
bought by the woman the rice
ny ankizy
the children
'The children were bought the rice by the woman'

In (65) 2 is advanced to 1. In (66) and (67) 3 and nonterm relation are advanced to 1. The hypothesis may be falsified if there is a language L in which the NPs holding the NON TERM relations can be advanced but not the NPs holding TERM relations. This is true with the NPs which are advanced to 2 also.

**Passivization**

Chomsky (1957) formulates the passive rule for English as

68. $NP_1 — AUX — V — NP_2 \rightarrow$
$NP_2 – AUX – be + en – V – by + NP_1$

He (Chomsky 1965) later revised and introduced the manner category which is expanded as *by passive*. The structural description on which rule operates is given as

69. NP–AUX–V–...NP–... by Passive
(△ cannot contain NP)

The NP which is to the left of V is moved and inserted where the dummy is

6. The data of this section are drawn from (Johnson 1977: 160)

under passive marker. The NP which immediately follows V is moved and inserted in the place from where the deep structure NP is moved. So passivization as a syntactic phenomenon in English may be described as a process of the operation of two movement rules. That is, one rule postposes the agent NP and the other preposes NP. The linear order of the constituents in both the active and passive sentences is different.

The passive sentences in Tamil are derived by the application of movement rules (Agesthialingom 1969). But to my knowledge I do not find any justification or evidence to have movement rules to derive the passive sentences. Consider the following examples from Tamil.

70. raşya: a:pka:nista:n–ai (t)
Russia Afghanistan–acc
ta:kk–i(y)–atu
attack–past–PNG
'Russia attacked Afghanistan'

71. (a) rasya:(v)–a:l a:pka:nista:n
Russia–by Afghanistan
ta:kka (p) – paṭ-ṭ-atu
attack-pass-past–PNG.

(b) a:pka:nista:n rasya:(v)-a:l
ta:kka (p)–paṭ-ṭ-atu

The native speakers in Tamil accept both the sentences (71 a–b). The rule that moves the constituents in (71 b) is not grammatical but rather stylistic. As far as Tamil is concerned, no evidence is brought to support the claim that movement rules are required to derive the passive sentence. The difference in case marking distinguishes the active and passive sentences. Similar is the case with Hindi also. There is no justification to propose movement rules to derive the passive sentences in Hindi.[7]

72. si : ta : miṭʰai n ə hi : kʰati
Sita sweets not eats
'Sita does not eat sweets'

73. sita-se miṭʰai n ə hi: kʰai: ja:ti
sita-by sweet not eaten is
'The sweets are not eaten by Sita'

74. moh ə n-ne moṭ ə r c ə lai:
Mohan-erg car drove
'Mohan drove the car'

75. moh ə n-se moṭ ə r c ə lai: g ə i:
Mohan-by motor was driven
'The car was driven by Mohan'

For most of the Indian languages, passivization does not require movement transformations. The formal difference between active and passive sentences is signalled not in terms of word order but rather in terms of different case markings. Does it imply that the process of passivization in Tamil and other Indian languages is not syntactic? In English it is described as a syntactic phenomenon by the movement rules. It seems that within the theory of transformational generative grammar there is no way to show passivization as a syntactic phenomenon in both English and Tamil. Even in languages in which

7. These data are drawn from Kachru (1966)

the process of passivization is syntactic the transformational rules are different in the way they disturb the order of constituents. It has been shown that how the passive rules differ from language to language eventhough the rules are FUNCTIONALLY IDENTICAL.[8]

It is possible within the framework of RG to show passivization as a unitary phenomenon in natural languages. The rules formulated are

76. DO $(Y, V_i) \longrightarrow S\ (Y, V_i)$

77. S $(Z, V_i) \longrightarrow \hat{S}\ (Z, V_i)$

There are two rules which derive the passive sentences. Rule (76) advances 2 to 1 and rule (77) demotes 1 to $\hat{1}$.

Since the transformational rules operate on the constituents whose linear order is language–specific, it is difficult to capture the underlying unitary aspect of the process.

**Defining Grammatical Relations**

The ST defines the grammatical relations of the constituents at the level of deep structure. These informations are required for the rules of semantic interpretation. The NP which is immediately dominated by S is the 'Subject-of, the sentence and the NP immediately dominated by VP is the 'Object of' the sentence. The configurational definitions given above are required for those languages in which the subject NP and the object NP are not morphologically marked and as a consequence of this the word order in those languages is relatively rigid. In a language like English the subject NP and the object NP are unmarked and therefore the word order in English is grammatical. But the case with Tamil is different. In Tamil, the object NP is marked and the subject NP unmarked. The word order in Tamil is relatively free.

78. (a) mantiri ne:r̲ r̲u oru ku:ṭṭatt-il
Minister yesterday a meeting-in
pe:c-in-a:r
speak-past-PNG
'The minister spoke in a meeting yesterday'

(b) ne:r̲ r̲u mantiri oru ku:ṭṭatt-il
pe:c-in-a:r

(c) oru ku:ṭṭatt-il ne:r̲ r̲u mantiri
pe:c-in-a:r

(d) ne:r̲ r̲u oru ku:ṭṭatt-il mantiri
pe:ci-in-a:r

The configurational definitions to identify the grammatical relations of the constituents are not required for languages like Tamil. One can identify the

---

8. Johnson (1974, 1976 : 39) has shown how passive rules differ from language to language eventhough the rules are functionally identical.

$NP^s_1 — V — NP^o_2 \rightarrow NP^s_2 — NP^x_1 — V_p$ (CHINESE)
$NP^s_1 — NP^o_2 — V \rightarrow NP^s_2 — NP^x_1 — V_p$ (JAPANESE)
$NP^s_1 — NP^o_2 — V \rightarrow NP^x_1 — NP^s_2 — V_p$ (HINDI)
$V — NP^o_2 — NP^s_1 \rightarrow V_p — NP^x_1 — NP^s_2$ (MALAGASY)

grammatical relations of the nominals in terms of different case markings. The difference in word order does not play any role in changing the grammatical relations of the nominals. The word order is therefore stylistic in Tamil. The level of deep structure to define the grammatical relations of the constituents is not relevant as far as Tamil is concerned.

It is difficult to extend the configurational definitions of the grammatical relations to languages like Dyirbal, Hurrien, and Aleut. It has been argued by Johnson (1976 : 80) that Dyịrbal is 'an Australian language that is basically OSV'. Keenan (1976) observes that Hurrien is a language of OSV word order in the deep structure. Ross (1970) reports that Guy Carden informed him 'that the basic order in Aleut is OSV. Similarly languages with VSO order will also pose problem for the attempt to define the grammatical relations of the constituents in terms of deep structure tree configuration.[9]

**Linguistic Generalizations**

One of the claims that RG makes is that within its framework a number of significant generalizations which are universal and which substantially reduce the number of possible grammars compatible with linguistic theory may be expressed. Several principles have been formulated by Perlmutter and Postal and Perlmutter (1980:211) presents some six laws of the grammar. One such law is *The Relational Succession Law.* It states that 'an NP promoted by an ascension rule assumes the grammatical relation born by the host out of which it ascends' (Johnson 1977:157). A related principle with this is *the host limitation law,* which states that 'only nominals bearing a term relation can serve as hosts of ascensions' (Perlmutter 1980:211). Let us examine the following sentences in English and Tamil.

79. Tom is likely to win

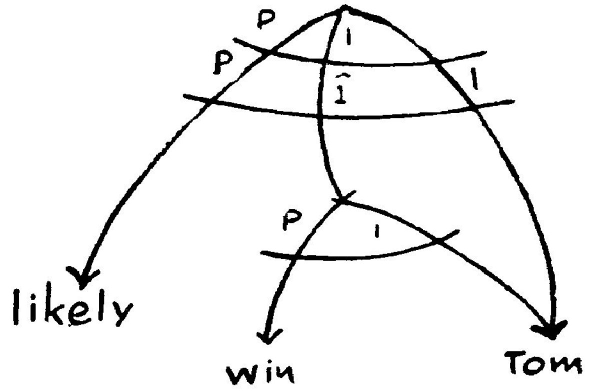
80. I believe the dog to be hungry

81. na:n avan-ai(p) paṭikk-a(c)
I he-acc study-inf
con-n-e:n
tell-past-PNG
I told him to study

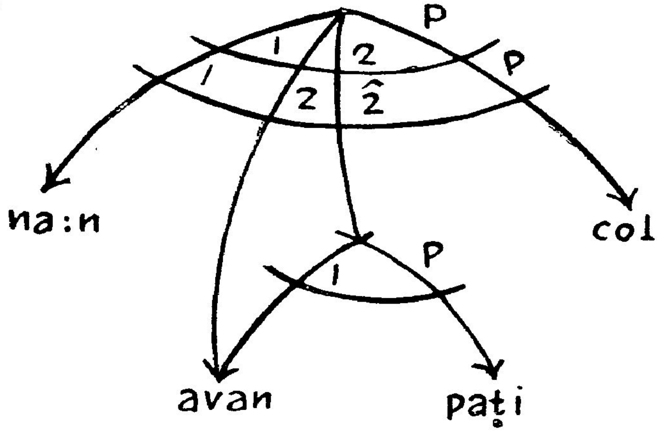
The nominal *Tom* in (79) assumes the grammatical relation 1 which is born by the embedded sentence out of which it raises. In (80) the nominal *dog* assumes the relation 2 born by the embedded sentence. The constituent sentence in (81) holds the grammatical relation 2 and the nominal *avan* assumes the same relation. (82) and (83) show the structure of (79) and (81) in RG network.

9. The way in which the ST may be defended is to propose alternative basic word order for these languages.

82.




83.




Another principle STRATAL UNIQUENESS LAW predicts that for the set of unique clausal GRs, no two columns of the same row in a matrix contain the same value. A comparision of (9), (40) and (41) reveals that there are no two columns in a row containing the same GR. Each stratum is unique in terms of the representation of GR.

Some more principles formulated by Perlmutter and Postal may be explained here (Johnson 1977 : 157).

84. (a) THE AGREEMENT LAW: Only terms can trigger verbal agreement

(b) THE REFLEXIVIZATION LAW: Only terms can trigger reflexivization.

In languages like Tamil, the verb agrees in Person, Number and Gender (PNG) with the subject of the sentence. The features must be compatible between the subject NP and the verb. There are languages like Hindi in which the verb, depending on the language specific conditions, agrees either with the subject or object.

85. wah ro raha:
he(nom) cry be
tʰa:[10]
(past, imperfective)
'He was crying'

86. wah kita:b likʰ raha:
he(nom) book write be
tʰa:
(past, imperfective)
'He was writing a book'

In (85), the verb agrees with the subject constituent *wah* of the sentence. In (87) we may observe that the agreement of the verb is with the object constituent of the sentence.

87. us-ne kita:b likʰi
he-erg book wrote (perfective)
'He was writing a book'

10. These examples are drawn from (J. O. Gray and E. L. Keenan 1977.)

88. ra:m-ne ra:dʰa-ko cʰiṭʰi bʰe:ji:
Ram-erg Radha-to letter sent
'Ram sent Radha a letter'

Some languages may have markers with the verb to denote both the subject and object of the sentence (Refer to examples 37 and 38).

The agreement law predicts that only terms can trigger verbal agreement. It is an empirical and falsifiable claim. Similarly only terms can trigger reflexivization. These claims can be falsified if a language is reported in which the nominal holding NON TERM relation triggers either the verbal agreement or reflexivization. The process of reflexivization involves the principle which predicts that the antecedent nominal controlling reflexivization must be higher on the scale of Relational Hierarchy (RH) than the nominal that is reflexivized. In order to express these generalizations which are cross linguistic the theory must incorporate the cross linguistically viable notions of grammatical relations. Since the theory of RG has a set of cross linguistically viable notions of grammatical relations, it is possible to formulate and express these principles in this framework.

It is observed that in many languages the S of the intransitive clause becomes the DO of the surface causative construction. The S of the transitive clause becomes IO of the surface sentence. This is evident from the following sentences in Tamil and Kannada.

89. *paṭaku* cen-ṟ-atu
boat sail-past-PNG
'The boat sailed'

90. na:n *paṭak-ai(c)* celu-tt-in-e:n
I boat-acc sail-cause-past-PNG
'I sailed the boat'

91. *kuḷantai* co:ṟu uṇ-ṭ-atu
child rice eat-past-PNG
'The child ate the rice'

92. ta:y *kuḷantai-kku* co:ṟ(ṟ)-ai
mother child-to rice-acc
u:ṭṭ-in-a:ḷ
eat-cause-past-PNG
'The mother caused the child to eat the rice'

93. *huḍuga:* sna:na: maḍu-tt-a:ne
boy bath do-pres-PNG
'The boy bathes'

94. na:nu *huḍugan-ige* sna:na
I boy-to bath
ma:d-is-t-i:ni
do-cause-pres-PNG
'I cause the boy to bathe'

95. *magu* aḷu-tt-ade
child weep-pres-PNG
'The child weeps'

96. na:nu *magu-(v)-annu*
I child-acc
aḷ-is-t-i:ni
weep-cause-pres-PNG
'I cause the child to weep'

Since the transformational rules operate on the categories which are linearly sequenced, the rules, describing the same syntactic process in different languages, differ formally. The basic word order determines the form of rules. Many rules which are universal are difficult to be stated within the framework of transformational generative grammar.

**Conclusion :**

The appearance of transformational generative grammar in linguistic scene cannot be simply viewed as the replacement of a particular model by another model. The change is basic and fundamental. It changes the very paradigm of the discipline. The view that each language has its own structure and languages differ in indefinite number of ways is questioned. The goal of linguistic theory is to characterize the essential properties of human languages precisely and explicitly. Since the child is equipped with certain innate capacity to learn the language to which it is exposed, the human languages differ only in certain predictable number of ways. Both ST and RG share this goal. The difference lies not on the goal they set up but on the terms they use to express linguistic generalizations. The grammatical relations are primitive linguistic elements in RG but they are derivative in ST. The claim of RG is that many significant cross linguistic generalizations can be expressed only by a theory which incorporates the notions of grammatical relations. The validity of RG may be tested by applying to many of our Indian languages. As I remarked earlier, I do not attach much importance to the appearance or disappearance of a model but to the insights it offers to understand human languages.

## REFERENCES

Agesthialingom, S. (1969) 'Passive in Dravidian' in *Dravidian Linguistics* (Seminar Papers) (eds) Agesthialingom,S. and N. Kumaraswami Raja, Annamalainagar, Annamalai University.

Chomsky, N. (1957) *Syntactic Structures* The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Chomsky, N. (1965) *Aspects of the theory of Syntax* Cambridge, Mass: MIT press.

Chomsky, N. (1973) 'Conditions on Transformations' in *A Festschrift for Morris Halle (eds)* Anderson, S. R. and P. Kiparsky New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Chung, S. (1976) 'An object-creating rule in Bahasa Indonesia' in *Linguistic Inquiry,* 7.41-87.

Gray, J. O. and E. Keenan (1977) 'On Collapsing Grammatical Relations in Universal Grammar' in *Syntax and Semantics*: *Vol. 8* (eds) Cole, P. and J. M. Sadock. New York : Academic Press.

Jespersen, O. (1955) *The Philosophy of Grammar,* London.

Johnson, D. (1974) 'On the Role of Grammatical Relations in Linguistic Theory' *CLS*, 10

Johnson, D. (1976) *Toward a Theory of Relationally based Grammar* Bloomington Indiana: IULC.

Johnson, David (1977) 'On Relational Constraints on Grammars' in *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol. 8 (eds) P. Cole and J. M. Sadock New York : Academic Press.

Kachru, Y. (1966) *An Introduction to Hindi, Syntax,* Illinois. University of Illinois.

Keenan, E. (1976) 'Subject Properties List' in *Subject and Topic* (ed) Li, C. New York: Academic Press.

Keenan, E. and B. Comrie (1977) 'Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar' in *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8. 63-99.

Perlmutter, D. (1980) 'Relational Grammar' in *Syntax and Semantics Vol. 13* (eds) Moravcsik, E. A and J.R. Wirth Newyork: Academic Press.

Ross, J. R. (1970) 'Gapping and the order of constituents' in *Progress in Linguistics* (eds) Bierwish M. and K. E. Heidolph The Hague: Mouton & Co.

# ABBREVIATIONS

S = Subject; DO = Direct Object; IO = Indirect Object; SOC = Sociative; LOC = Locative; BENE = Benefactive; INST = Instrument; OO = Oblique Object; L = Language; NP = Noun Phrase; N = Noun; V = Verb; $V_a$ = Verb of the active sentence; $V_p$ = Verb of the passive sentence; $S^a$ = Subject of the active sentence; $S^p$ = Subject of the passive sentence; GR = Grammatical Relation; PNG = Person, Number and Gender; pass = Passive; P = Predicate; acc = accusative; ple.m = Participle marker; TRANS = Transitive; RH = Relational Hierarchy; AH = Accessibility Hierarchy; emph = emphatic; refl = Reflexive; Pres = Present; loc = locative; io = Indirect Object marker; do = Direct Object marker; Sm = Subject marker; SC = Subject chômeur marker; erg = Ergative marker; inf = Infinitive marker; nom = Nominative; $\hat{S}$ = Subject chômeur; CLS = Chicago Linguistic Society.

# Nannan of North Malabar

P. L. SAMY

A great chieftain, Nannan was mentioned in Sangam literature belonging to the period from 1st century A. D. to 3rd century A. D. The Chieftain, Nannan is said to have ruled from ēḻil hills. Now it is called as ēḻumala in Malayalam. Nannan's kingdom comprised of ēḻil hills, Konkānam and Pūḻi Nāṭu in North Malabar. He had within his territory a town called Pāram which was said to be his capital. Pāram has been identified by me by field study. It is a village bearing the same name now and it is about 15 miles to the north of Cannanore. Pūḻi Nāṭu can be identified roughly as the territory to the north of Mahe, a Ex-French possession where you can still find a village called Pūḻitalai which was the northern limit of Pūḻi Nāṭu. In Malaipaṭukaṭām, a work which can be placed latter than Akanānūṟu, Naṟṟiṇai, Kuṟuntokai which are earlier works, a king called Nannan-cēy–Nannan is mentioned as the ruler of Palkunṟa Nāṭu (country of many hills). Although some Tamil scholars have confused the Nannan of the Palkunṟa Nāṭu with the Nannan of Konkānam, there is no basis for such identification as the Palkunṟa Nāṭu comprising of the present Tiruvannamalai and Sengam hills is nearly 500 miles East of Mount D'eli (Ēḻil hills) and could not have been ruled by one and the same king. The Malaipaṭukaṭām poem specifically describes the hero as Nannan, son of Nannan. The reason for the migration of the son of Nannan who ruled in North Malabar in the West coast to the Sengam hills in the North Arcot District can be gathered from the Akanānūṟu Poem (199) wherein Kallāṭanār had said that the Chera King Nārmuṭi Cēral defeated and killed Nannan of Puḻi Nāṭu. Patiṟṟupattu which gives the geneology of the ancient Chera kings of Sangam period also says that Nannan was defeated at the hands of Nārmuṭi Cēral and the titular tree of Nannan was also cut off by the Chera king. It looks obvious that after Nannan who was the ruler of Konkānam was killed, his territory was regained by the Chera king. Nannan's son left North Malabar and founded a kingdom in 'Seṅganmā' near Tiruvannamalai. Nannan of North Malabar is called Nannan of Konkānam. Udiyan Nannan and Nannan Vēnmān are his other names found in Sangam poems. When he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chera king Udiyan, he assumed the name of Udiyan Nannan.

The exact derivation of the name of the hill can be found out only from sangam poems where it named and described. The veteran Tamil Scholar, U.V Swaminatha Iyer in his gloss to a Kuṟuntokai

poem (130) has said that the word 'ēḻil' meant also a tree which is called 'ēḻilaipālai' Hence, it has to be concluded that the hill 'ēḻil' got its name from the preponderent occurrence of the tree 'ēḻil' in the hill forests. On a field study, I noted that the tree, Alstonia scholarsis which is 'eḻil pālai' did occur in natural condition in the forests of the hills and it is appropriate that the hill was called by the name of the tree in Sangam period. It is well known that some of the ancient towns in Tamil Nadu got their names from the plants with which they were associated. The famous Pallava Capital Kāñci got its name from the tree, Trewia Nudiflora and Vañci, the Chera capital from the tree, Salix tetrasperma. Even Koṟkai, the ancient sea port of the Pandya kingdom probably got its name from Koṟku, the Indian laburnam which bears most beautiful drooping clusters of golden flowers. The name of Koṟku occurs in Sangam literature in Naṟṟiṉai (302).

In the commentary of Kuṟuntokai poem (138), U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, it is said,

Ēḻili oru malai, itu naṉṉaṉ eṉpava-ṉukku uriyatu.

ēḻilaippālai eṉṉum maramum ākum.

Since the commentator has not done any field study in the hills, he could not say how the hill derived its name from the predominance of the tree Alstonia scholarasis. There is a confusion in the commentary as *nocci* was grown. They are even now grown as household tree for hedges as mentioned in Sangam poems. The girl who pines over her lover could not have even a nap the whole night and hence she could hear the soft noise of the faded flower dropping in the night. The pining girl could not have heard the tiny flower falling from the tall hills. Another commentator, Avvai Duraisamy Pillai has written that the eḻil hill got its name due to the fact that hills looked like a *yāḻ* the original and ancient stringed musical instrument of the ancient Tamils. But on my field study I found that the hill does not in any way look like a *yāḻ*. It is a fanciful derivation. Perhaps Avvai Duraisamy Pillai might have been led to guess because the word eḻāl meant the high pitch in Tamil music.

The tree eḻil, Alstonia scholarasis is even now very important in Kerala rituals and folk worship, as it is the tree of the mother goddess, Bhagavathy. I found the stem of the tree being riddled by big iron nails by worshippers in order to fulfil their vows for favours in Chottanikara Bhagavathy temple near Cochin. This tree is also associated with devil worship in Kerala. In order to propiate the Goddess Bhagavathy, the common people in North Malabar make icons mostly out of this tree. Ēḻil hills was called in popular usage as *eli malai* and later it was translated as *Mushika Parvata.* Such popular transformations are like Hamilton's bridge becoming *ampaṭṭan* *vārāvati* and Ellis Choultry built by the efforts of Colonel Ellis, I.C.S. as *eli cattiram.* The same sort of folk usage occurred in the name which was translated in popular usage in medieval ages in Malayalam as *eli malai.*

In 13th century there was a kingdom called *Mushika vamsa* wrongly translated in popular usage. The particular tree is still called in Malayalam as *eḻilam Pala.* But the Sanskrit name of the tree, *saptaparni* clearly signifies the correctness of the Tamil name.

Morco Polo called the kingdom of Nannan as 'ēli kingdom'. Ibn Batuta called it as 'Ili kingdom'. Later the Europeans called the kingdom as 'Mount D'eli'. It is a precipitous hill on the sea side. It is because of this premonitary, sea voyagers from sangam times to the medieval times of Ibn Batuta preferred this port. When I visited ēḻil hill ten years before, I had to cross two rivers by boat and had to walk three miles to reach the hills.

There is a legendary treatise in Kerala called 'Chandrotsavam' belonging to 13th century, in which Mushika vamsa had been mentioned. The ancient history of Kerala cannot be traced unless one knows the Malayalam traditions and Tamil literature both ancient and medieval. Strabo, the Greek historian talks of a kindom 'Mousikanos' in the far south of India. This kingdom could not be anything else than the Mushika kingdom. Mushika Kāṇam has been mentioned as 'Mousikanos' by Strabo. Some historians have identified the place as lying in the eastern portion of the Sind Valley. Professor Roy Choudry, the historian has held it that it is the Mushika kingdom. There are others who identify it as the land where the River Mushi flows, that is around Hyderabad city; but, Professor Roy Choudry's conclusion seems to be correct. Naṉṉaṉ's kingdom of ēḻimalai was contemperaneous with Chera kingdom, in Sangam period.

In Mushika vamsa, the name of Naṉṉaṉ and Mūvaṉ are mentioned. Mūvaṉ was mentioned in Puṟanāṉūṟu (209). Mūvaṉ and Mūvaṉ Sēy are also mentioned. A sangam poet is called 'Ammūvaṉ'. The names seem to be peculiar to North Malabar usage in Tamil in Sangam period. The names of Naṉṉaṉ and Naṉṉaṉ sēy are found in Sangam literature. The name of Naṉṉaṉ is found in Sangam poems as well as Patiṟṟupattu, but the name of Naṉṉaṉ Sēy is found only in Malaipaṭukaṭām of Pattupāṭṭu which is a later work in Sangam period. It is said in a poem in Naṟṟiṇai that Cheraman Kanaikāl Irumpoṟai killed Mūvaṉ in the battle field and pulled his teeth and exhibited them on the door of the city of Thondi, a famous port noticed by Roman and Greek historians. The poet Ammūvaṉ had sung about the towns of Thondi and Vanchi and as such he has to be considered as a poet from the Chera Kingdom. The name of Naṉṉaṉ is not used as a popular name of Tamil Nadu but I noticed that this name was still used by the fisherman of Nileswaram in North Malabar which is very near to ēḻil hills. But the word Naṉṉaṉ is pronounced as 'nannaṉ' as dental not as 'naṉṉaṉ' with alveolar, as found in Sangam literature which shows that the name is not correctly spelled in the editions of Sangam works It is seen that the name Naṉṉaṉ occurs in Chola inscriptions belonging to 11th century A.D. as the names of the shepherd caste in the famous Tanjore Peruvuṭayār temple.

"Cātta maṅkalattu irukkum iṭaiyan kaṇṭan karuvēlanum ............ nannan nilanum." The inscriptional usage of Nannan shows that the Malayalam folk usage of nannan is correct and not the literary usage in the Tamil editions of Sangam literature.

The eḻil hill is surrounded on three sides by water but on the western side it is surrounded by sea. Because the hill is surrounded by rivers on two sides and the sea on the western side, it is not possible to approach the hills. Now it has been made easy to approach as ēḻil hills have been made as a tourist centre with the bridges to cross the rivers. I had to cross two rivers by boat at a place called Punnaikaṭavu and Korripuḻai to reach ēḻil hills. This place was in the midst of a thick forest of Korrikaṭavu. There is a big rock which is called 'Ammarakkal.' The rock is worshipped every 12 years by the common folks. I think that the region around the rock may be the Paḻi of Nannan. It is also seen that Miñili, a chieftain under Nannan won and captured Atikan who was the chieftain of the kingdom who ruled at Tagadur, in the present Dharmapuri district and sacrificed him to the devil which was the mother goddess as per the information given by the Sangam poem Akanānūru (142). In this conection two important points have to be considered. The connection of the names Atikamān from Satyaputra and also Emeneau's deduction on linguistic grounds proved to be correct. The Atikans and Nannans were only Chieftains under the suzerainty of Cheras who later asserted themselves as kings throwing the suzerainty of the imperial Cheras of Sangam period. There is a place near eḻil hills called Korriyūr. Korrikaṭavu and Korripuḻai are names of the rivers and the river port. We may conjecture that this Ammarakkal may be the spot where, as per the Akanānūru poem, a powerful devil goddess resided. Avvai Duraisamy Pillai identified that 'Paḻiclambu' was Patkal in South Kanara. This identification is based on the similarity of sounds in the two names. It is wrong as Patkal is far off from Nannan's ēḻil hills.

Pāḻi valley must be in the ēḻil hills. It is said in the commentary of Mayilainathar *that the people of* Pāḻi *call the* small water tank as Pāḻi. Nannan's Paḻi is mentioned in Sangam poems. In Akanānūru Poem (375) it is said that Iḷamperuñchenni destroyed the fortified Pāḻi. That is why the king was called as the king who destroyed the standing army at Pāḻi. Nannan had a standing army at Pāḻi from the reference to aruñikaṭippāḻi. In the 4th decade of Patirrup-pattu, it is said that the Chera king Nārmuticēral who was dispossessed of his distinctive crown defeated Nannan at the border of 'Kaṭambin Peruvāyil,' the portals of the kingdom of Kadambas after overrunning the kingdom of Nannan. It is seen that near ēḻil hills there is a seashore village called Seruvattūr. There are two parts of the village which are called 'Kāri' and 'Ōri'. These names obviously refer to the folk memory of the munificent donor, the tribal chieftains of the last sangam period, Kāri and Ōri who ruled their kingdoms under the suzerainty of the Cheras. The tract which the tribe of Kadambar ruled was later annexed by Mayurasarman, leader of the Haiga

brahmins who migrated to South Kanara from North India and was supposed to have established the Kadamba kingdom by the right of hypergamy and by the strategem of marrying tribal princess.

It may be noticed, at about the same time when Mayurasarman ruled, the Pallavas also traced their origin from Brahmin–Naga alliance. The Koundinya kingdom in the far east in Indo – China, Funan was considered to have been established by a Brahmin koundinya from Kāñci who married the princess of Funan. There are references to the settlement of Koundinyas in Tamil Nadu in Sangam literature. Among the Aryan Brahmin migrants who settled in Sangam period there are *Kavuṇian* who were the Koundinyas. The famous Saivite saint Gnanasambandar belonged to the Koundinya gotra. Other Brahmin migrants in Sangam period were the Vadamas and Vadulas. A poet belonging to the Vadama clan was engaged in the mundane profession of assaying gold. There were Aginihotra brahmins in Chera country in the Sangam period whom the Chera king gave the village Ogandur as a gift to grow the *Othira* paddy. At the time of Mayurasarman and earlier, the kingdom of Satavahanas existed beyond the northern limits of Tamilagam. The Satavahana kings who were brahmins married Naga princesses. It is a kingdom established by the right of hypergamy like the Pallava kingdom. The Banarastra-~~kingdom seems also~~ to have been established by the right of hypergamy. *Pāṇar* in one poem of Akanāṉūṟu is explained as a warlike tribe by the oldest commentator. Maḷavar is also explained as a young warlike tribe. In this connection we have to consider the Sutram of Tolkāppiyam *maḷavum kuḷvum iḷamaipporuḷ*. Sangam literature refers to Iḷayar also who were considered as warrior according to the old Akanāṉūṟu commentary. After the Sangam period which may be from the first century A.D. to the third century A D., kingdoms arose in the South whose origin can be atributed to Brahmin and Kshathriya domination by hypergamy and vedic influences and miscegenation with the local tribals.

There is a reference to *Pāratṭuttalaivaṉ āra naṉṉaṉ*. Professor Vaiyapuri Pillai has given explanation about *āra naṉṉaṉ* as the chieftain who became king. It is a very valid explanation.

The tradition of Mother Goddess worship is very strong in the territory where Naṉṉaṉ ruled. In Sangam times, Naṉṉaṉ was called as the ruler of the Kanam, the forest. A famous Mother Goddess of the forest *Kāṉamarcelvi* of eḻilmalai is mentioned in a Sangam poem. Naṉṉaṉ himself is said to have possessed many fine and thorough-bred horses through the grace of this Mother Goddess. The Kāṉam territory over which Naṉṉaṉ ruled is still called Kānhangāḍ (Kānangāḍu) and the Bhagavathy of the territory is still worshipped as the foremost mother goddess. There is also a place called Kānattūr in Kānhangāḍ. Besides, the worship of Vana Durga and Devī is widely prevalent even now in the area. The Koṟṟi of Kānhangāḍu, a mother goddess who is still worshipped was called in Sangam period as the *Cẹlvi* of *Kān* (forest), the fertility goddess of the forest. Even

now, there are many shrines of Devi in this area. A special type of bachelor priest called *Maṉiyāṇi* does pujas in these shrines. There is also a special caste of priests, Piḍāraṉ still found in this region practising Devi worship and they seem to have been imported from Tamil Nadu during the Chola regime. Piḍāraṉ was the priest of *Piḍāri* temples in Tamil Nadu in Chola period and *Piḍāri* was a particular manifestation of the malignant mother–goddess. Even the Bhagavathy of Tulu Nadu is called *Tulukānāṭṭu Amman* in Tamil Nadu and personal names like Tulukānam is still prevalent among the backward classes. This shows that the tradition of the Mother Goddess having been associated with the forest of Tuḷunāṭu region is a very ancient one existing from the first century of the Christian era.

A major part of the area ruled by Naṉṉaṉ was later called Vanavāsi during the Kadamba rule. Vanavāsi meant the Mother Goddess of the Vana (forest) which is again a translation of the Kanamarchelvi of Sangam period. Later the kings of the Kadamba dynasty established by Mayurasarman called themselves as the devotees of seven mothers and Subramanya. The tradition of the worship of Mother Goddess continued from Sangam period until recent times.

It can be conjectured from the references in Tamil literature of the Sangam period that Naṉṉaṉ started his life as a General in the army of the Chera king and then became an independent chieftain. It is remarkable that the existing tradition in the region of Mount D'eli still tells that the territory was ruled by a chieftain Naṉṉaṉ called Nāṭuvāḻi in Malayalam. The word *vāḻi* with the same meaning was used in Tamil Nadu during the ninth century in the name of the Saint Tirumangai Alwar as Kuraiyalūr Vāḻi in Nālāyira Divya Prabhantham. The same tradition is seen in the name of Kuruvāḻchcha of Chirakkal Kovilagam in later Malayalam tradition. Malayalam language has preserved much more puritanically some of the ancient Tamil tradition and usages. *Vāḻi* is a word denoting a chieftain or a petty ruler, but even during the Sangam period, the word *Vāḻi* occurs in Patiṟṟupattu (56) and later in the Pallava period, the term *kōvāḻi* began to signify an emperor or a king who ruled over the chieftains. In the 9th century inscription of Tānuravi, the Chera king, the name of *Nādu Vāḻtutal* clearly indicates a king or chieftain, which follows the tradition of the Sangam usage. In Patiṟṟupattu a king is called 'Selvakadunkō Vāḻiātan' The word *Kōvāḻi* is significant since the Pallavas in their inscriptions as evidences by the usage of this term in the Tēvāram poems of Appar who belonged to 6th or 7th century A.D. In order to emphasise that they are legitimate rulers and emperors the Pallavas used in inscriptions such Tamil terms like 'Kōvijaya', a typical hybrid term which can be traced to the sangam term *kōvāḻi*.

That Naṉṉaṉ was only a chieftain who later on became a king on his own is attested by the Sangam poems. If you look into the medieval history of Tamil Nadu it is seen a chieftain or a general or a tribal chief becomes more

powerful than the king himself and challenges the king's supermacy. Naṉṉaṉ was exterminated because he asserted his independence in North Malabar from the Chera suzerainty. He became powerful as a general of the Chera imperial army as evidenced in the Sangam poems.

Naṉṉaṉ belonged to a group called Vēḷir who had marriage alliances with the kings of Chera, Chola and Pandya kingdoms and some Sangam poems say that Naṉṉaṉ belonged to the Vēḷir caste of very ancient times (Toṉmutir Vēḷir). Tuluva Vellala is a prosperous and progressive caste in Tamil Nadu and they migrated from Tulu Nadu to Tamil Nadu in ancient times.

There are certain traditions about the rule of Naṉṉaṉ in Sangam literature which still persists in North Malabar and South Kanara. Contemporary field studies have yielded reliable information to correlate the information in Sangam literature and the present persisting traditions. Near and around Pāram there are insignificant villages. There are strong tradition in these villages about Naṉṉaṉ. Pāram is a village which could be reached by me by jeep in 1968 as there was no proper motorable road. Surrounding Pāram, there are mainly Parambu, vast plateaus with a soil which is generally called in Tamil as 'Murambu'. Naṉṉaṉ's parambu is specifically mentioned in Akanāṉūṟu (356). Pāram is very near Paṉaiyāl village. There is a small mound which is called kōṭṭapārā. People say that there was a fort built by a king of the low caste Madigas whose name was Naṉṉaṉ. He manufactured and issued leather coins. There is only one king known in Indian history who introduced leather currency and that is Tughluq. It is extraordinary that such a story is attributed to Naṉṉaṉ. But it is untrue and is only a folk legend.

Naṉṉaṉ did not belong to the low caste of Madigas. Besides, Madiga is not a Tamil caste. Naṉṉaṉ belonged to the highest and prestigious clan of Vēḷir whose descendants are considered as the present day Vellalas. The present Madigas are leather workers. By to stretch of imagination the Madigas can be equated with the ancient Vēḷirs who gave their daughters in marriage to the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings. Because Madigas settled later in Naṉṉaṉ's country who were leather workers, this legend gained credence. A Kannada proverb that is still prevalent in Pāram and its surroundings say *Naṉṉena Patukku nari nayi tinnu hōyithu* 'that Nannan's hoard was eaten away by jackals and dogs'. Since common folks believed that Naṉṉaṉ issued leather currency, the story was invented to the effect that Naṉṉaṉ's coins which were made out of leather were eaten by jackals and dogs. This is only a folk tradition to which no reliance can be placed. But this proverb is based on the Sangam tradition which is two thousand years old. AnAkanāṉūṟu poem (258) specifically says that Naṉṉaṉ Utiyan had a well guarded *pāḷi* (a water tank) which had a hoard of foreign gold coins which was gathered and protected by the very ancient Vēḷirs.

Another Akanāṉūṟu poem (173) calls the ēḻil hills facing the sea as full of gold.

Nannan's Konkānam is called as possessing gold. It is said in Akanānūru (15) that the town of Pāli was well guarded. It is due to the fact that Nannan had a huge hoard of gold because, I think, he had a favourable foreign trade balance with the Romans and Greeks. It is well known that the Roman gold currency was in circulation in Tamil Nadu in the Sangam period. Nannan had hoarded the ancient treasure of gold coins inside the waters of the tank and guarded it with a standing army. Because Pāli was well guarded it was called in a Sangam poem as *Ceruppāli*, which meant the Pali town protected by army.

This information can be compared with the archaeological findings which have revealed hoards of Roman coins belonging to the period between the first century to fifth century A.D. near to ēlil hills. Authentic references to the inflow of a huge amount of gold into Malabar kingdom for the sale of pepper are attested by foreign notices of India. Earlier I have mentioned about a reference in Akanānūru poem (345) about the white stockinged pure bred horses which came into Nannan's country by wind, obviously through ships driven by trade wind.

One other contemporary tradition which helps to reconstruct the history of Nannan of Sangam period is about the cruelty of Nannan. I met at Kasargod, Rama Naick Pundit who knew both Tulu and Kannada languages very well and to some extent Malayalam also. He knew the local legends on Nannan intimately. He wrote a drama which was enacted by high school students. The drama had a scene in which Nannan had the hands of the children who picked up and ate the fallen mangoes of his royal garden chopped off. In Sangam literature an incident is mentioned about Nannan's cruelty. A good variety of mango fruit of his royal garden fell in the river nearby and the fallen fruit was washed off on the river shore. I saw that a river flows near Pāram, the capital of Nannan's kingdom in my field study. A small girl picked it when she came to take a bath and ate it. When Nannan came to know that the fruit from the Royal garden had been eaten by a common girl, he ordered death sentence on her in spite of her parents offering eighty one elephants and the girls weight of gold. He was cursed by the very famous poet Paranar for this extreme cruelty. Hence, was called 'Girl killer Nannan'. One of the descendants who was later a petty ruler noticed in Puranānūru was not embraced by the famous poet Kalāttalayār because he was the cruel Nannan's descendant. Such was the commotion that was created by Nannan's act of cruelty. The irony of Nannan's cruel killing lies in the fact that his name itself literally means a 'good man' but he proved to be a bad one.

In the commentary of Maduraikkāñci it is said that Nannan's birth day was celebrated with pomp and glory. One does not know how far it is true since he was denigrated by poets when he lived and after his death also by Sangam poets. In Kasargod and other places like Nileswaram he is considered as a cruel king and he is said to have married

a dancing girl and is said to have been defeated by Mayurasarman. Contemporary field study can yield very good results sometimes to reconstruct the past history provided the material is used with scientific discrimination and the approach should be interdisciplinary.

There is a peculiar folk dance to propitiate folk dieties and more especially malignant dieties in North Malabar. Naṉṉaṉ's kingdom was called as 'Kōlattu Nāḍu'. This name is found as 'Kōlastri' (Kōlathiri) in the geneology of Mursika vamsa kingdom in Chandrotsavam. Kōlasthiri itself is a hybrid Tamil and Sanskrit term. The name arose because in North Malabar and South Canara countries there was in ancient times popular folk dance called 'Kōlam' depicting the life of folk hero-gods and goddesses and later the Hindu gods and in folk garb. The kōlam dance is now called Teyyāṭṭam, the dance depicting popular gods and goddesses. In these popular and seasonal dances the main thing is the folk mask and dress which is very impressive and remarkable. The only ancient reference to this kōlam folk dance is found in the commentary of Cilappatikāram.

It is significant and pertinent to note that the tradition of Naṉṉaṉ's infamous act in killing the girl for eating the mango is still prevalent in Sengam hills where his son migrated and ruled. There is a proverb, *aṟunta māṅkaṉi poruntiya ceṅkam*, whick carries the memory of the story of mango fruit which occurred in far off North Kerala in the first three centuries of the Christian era.

It is also significant that Naṉṉaṉ was also equally eulogized in the Sangam period. In Maduraikkāñci, a mention is made of the celebration of the birth day of great Naṉṉaṉ with great pomp by the people of his kingdom in comparison with great noise raised by the people of Madurai.

Probably Naṉṉaṉ was eulogized in Madurai due to the fact that he defeated the Chera king, an enemy of the Pandyas. It is also significant to note that in Kerala the ancient megalithic burial ground in large pots is called significantly enough as 'Naṉṉaṉgāḍi'. The name cannot be tranformation of Nankāḍu which meant Iḍukāḍu in Tamil, since it is pertinent to note that ancient burial grounds were associated with famous kings name or dynasty's name. In Kannada such ancient burial grounds are called 'Moriar Mana of Moriarangaḍi' associating the famous Mauriyas who conquered the Kannaḍa country. It is well known that Sangam literature also mentions about the invasion of Mauryas. In Cheramangaḍi village near Kodungaloor there are burial grounds with stones shaped like umbrellas underneath which rock coffins with chambers are found. The burial ground is called by the name Seramanangadi. Patiṟṟupattu, a Sangam anthology of the poems in Chera kings mentions about the burial ground where the kings were interned in big pots underneath the *vaṉṉi* trees which signified the valour of the kings.

It is mentioned in Cilapatikāram that the kongaṇa and koṭuṅkaruṇṭa dancers pleased the Chera Emperor, Cheran

Cenguṭṭuvan (taṅkulakkōtiya takaicāḷaṉiyiṉaṉ) with their appropriate costumes. The land where the folk dances were held is still the North Malabar country called in Cilapatikāram as Koṅkaṇam and in the Sangam literature as Koṇkāṇam. These dances are still performed in North Malabar, the Koṇkāṇa desa of Naṉṉaṉ and also the Kodungarunadu of Cilapatikāram. These ancient dances are called Teyyāṭṭu in Malayalam and Bhuta dances in Kannada. It is significant to note that the koṅkaṇakkūttar and Kaṭuṅkarunāṭar (Karnatakas) were only the dancers who were from Koṅkāṇam of North Malabar and also Karnataka who danced the peculiar kōlam dances.

There is a peculiar folk dance performance enacted every year in Nileswaram. It is about a boy who was beheaded and who was later worshipped. There was a landlord Kurupp who had his servant by name Kannan who was tending the herd of his cattle. One day the man who herds the cattle picked up the fruit of the mango from the garden of Kurupp. But the fruit fell on the lap of the son-in-law of Kurupp. The landlord Kurupp got angry and ordered Kannan to be beheaded. Then immediately all the cattle died. After that event, the landlord Kurupp propitiated Kannan by enacting a dance of Kōlam. Here we can see a clear contemporary transformation of the story of the killing of the small girl by Naṉṉaṉ for eating the mango fruit two thousand years ago. Ibn Batuta tells of an incident in which the king of Kōlam killed his own son-in-law because he took and ate a mangoe fruit from his well. He killed by piercing his son-in-law's stomach with a sword. In this popular mango story the son-in-law himself is involved. Another folk legend in North Malabar says that a brahmin girl belonging to Teyakkāṭṭu Mana climbed the jack fruit tree and plucked a Jackfruit and she was killed by her uncle immediately. Then all kinds of disasters happened in the family. The dead girl who had become a goddess, was propitiated as 'Manayil Pothi' and 'Manayil Bhagavathy' as the goddess of the house and also a kōlam dance was performed as 'Kannikōlam' a virgin goddess ritual dance. All these traditional ritual dances, the so called devil dances move from the traditional story of the killing of a small girl who ate the mango fruit of Naṉṉaṉ's Royal garden and other traditional stories may be based on historical fact of Naṉṉaṉ's killing of the girl two thousand years ago of a mango fruit from his Royal garden.

There is a village called 'Udhuma' near Pāram which may be 'Udirma' in memory of the fallen mango fruit of Naṉṉaṉ's royal garden.

It is important to note that the memory of Naṉṉaṉ persists even today in North Malabar whereas the memories of the ancient Chera, Chola and Pandya kings are not heard of at all in their own ancient territories. An interdisciplinary study of folk memories and traditions by field study linked with history will yield valuable results even to know the past history.

I have attempted through my field study to reconstruct the past history of the king Naṉṉan. The hearsay legends, myths and other materials gathered from the common folk are utilize

# CANNANORE DISTRICT

BOOK-REVIEW

# Drama in Ancient Tamil Society by K. Sivathamby

**(New Century Book House, Madras, 443+xxvii pp. Indian, Rs. 60/- US $ 15/-)**

*Drama in Ancient Tamil Society* by Dr. Kartigesu Sivathamby is a work of major importance in the history of Tamil drama. It traces the origin and development of Tamil drama from the beginnings of the *cankam* age upto the period of *cilappatikaram* which, according to the author, is circa 600 A. D.

The author says that information sources are scarce and that most eminent scholars writing on the subject have been able to elicit only limited information on ancient Tamil dramatic traditions. But we are struck by the range and depth of information that the author has adduced and analysed in his work. This is a first work which, for the first time, has tracked practically all the literary evidences, and also taken due note of the substantial writings on Tamil drama to date, the lone exception, probably, being K. K. Pillay's 'Social History of the Tamils'.

The author has not stopped with evidence from literary sources. He has drawn extensively upon other disciplines like archaeology, numismatics etc. and shown remarkable fluency in correlating evidence from diverse sources.

The author takes the reader gently by the hand, as it were, in the introductory chapter and outlines the plan of his work. He argues that drama should be treated as a socio-cultural phenomenon, conditioned by social and historical circumstances. This necessitates that he construct a socio-historical framework for the period of the study. For this purpose, he divides the period into three phases viz. heroic, feudal and mercantilistic, on the basis of the ruling socio-economic forces at the time. The author also argues for adopting the method of comparative history and, further, for adopting the Greek drama as the mode of choice for purposes of comparison, in order to find an answer to some of the questions on Tamil drama that have eluded an answer all along.

As per the plan outlined, the first chapter discusses the problems and method of study; the second deals with the evolution of Greek drama; chapter 3 reviews the sources, and also fixes the chronology of the ancient Tamil texts after a searching investigation of the evidences and conflicting claims in regard to it; three subsequent chapters treat of the social and historical perspective, and dramatic traditions in the three phases; the next is a recapitulation of the findings of the three periods followed by a comparative study of Greek and Tamil dramas. The last chapter is a brief summary and concluding remarks.

The author himself does not seem to be fully convinced of the validity of the division of the period into the three phases. We agree with him. We do not also feel that any of his findings on Tamil drama essentially derives from a knowledge of Greek drama.

The earliest Tamil works speak only of *kuttu*, meaning dance. A *kuttu* that also tells a story is *natakam* or drama But references to *natakam* occur only in works of a later day. However, in chapter 8, the author develops the extended meaning that *kuttu that depicts a theme* (not necessarily a story) is also drama. The study adduces ample evidence to establish that many *kuttus* of ancient Tamilnadu partook of all the characteristics of drama viz. communication of theme and character, acting, costume, make-up, use of the spoken word, gesture and even hand prop. There were numerous groups of singers, musicians, dancers and others, both men and women, purveying religious satisfaction or wholesome entertainment. They performed at street junctions, temple precincts, community halls, royal courts, almost anywhere. With consummate skill, the author summons up a bevy of girls to dance the *kuravai* for us. Some eight or nine of them stand in a circle holding one another's hand, waltzing round and singing the lilting *kontunilai*. Or, he conjures up the picturesque sights and sounds of *veriyattu* or the franzied dance, fragment by fragment. The beauty of these will be fully apparent when it is realised that each detail was culled from a diverse source and deftly placed in position in a wonderful sequence.

Two instances may be given to bring home the scholarship that pervades the work. The author discusses the musical instrument, the *vayir*. He follows its sound through tantalizing comparisons ......the dancing peacock, the parrots that have feasted on *tinai* etc. and finally arrives at a possible link with *mukavinai*, the musical instrument used in Tamil folk theatre even to this day. Likewise, he argues through eight pages of conflicting arguments to establish that the two kinds of *kuttu* referred to in *cilappatikaram* would mean *vettiyal* and *potuviyal* only, and not any other pair.

The historical perspective built by the study establishes that the three successive phases were marked by sharp differences in social and economic development of the population groups in different areas. There is no trace of the dramatic texts of the early periods, nor even a trace of the mythical content of the rituals of the time, as *cankam* literature is predominantly secular. The myths are traceable only as we near the *cilappatikaram* age and there is increasing Sanskrit influence. The rise of Brahminism and the caste system lead to fragmentation of society with disastrous results for art and for all aspects of life. A new class of professional performers comes into being. Grace and charm become indispensable traits in a performer. And art consorts with harlotry.

The author observes that the magnitude of his work presupposes that many of his conclusions would be tentative. True enough, but sometimes one is puzzled by contentious statements made in passing, or opinions offered out of

context. For example, the chapter on Greek drama, practically the first sentence in the book proper reads: 'Greek drama seen in conjunction with Indian drama, especially Tamil reveals its distinctiveness in very clear terms. Yet not a word has been said about Tamil drama!

It has been stated that 'in a drama, the characters must be identified by name', which is hardly acceptable or correct. It is pertinent to note that this point has been made while dismissing the claims of *akam* poetry to be considered as drama. But actually just as theme dance, merits to be considered as drama, so also *akam* poetry, as theme-song, has equal claims to be considered as drama. The *tinai* classification of love activities also has come in for extended discussion. We must observe that the problem is merely one of breech presentation. Quite simply, the implication of the convention is that a particular *tinai* or region provides the most appropriate scenic background to project a particular type of love activity. The author has relied heavily on the presence of Sanskrit words in dating some texts. But as the manuscripts in question were all retrieved only in 19th century rescensions there is no knowing what changes and what alterations they may have suffered en route.

Even granting that dating of *cilappatikaram* as 530 A. D. is correct, the argument on evidence overlooks a few important considerations. First, the professional expertise and technical excellence in the arts depicted in *cilappatikaram* must have taken a significant period of time to develop. So, many of the artistic parametres would require to be suitably ante-dated.

Secondly, though *cilappatikaram* is replete with technical information on song and dance it is not a treatise on the art. It is part history, part fiction and all poetry. *Matavi* too partakes of the nature of a fictional character. Not everything in the work stated about the character need be founded on fact, nor anything that is not mentioned in the work about the arts may be construed as non-existent in reality.

Lastly, though *cilappatikaram* may be a work of the 6th century, it treats of a second century episode. It cannot be gainsaid that its illustrious author might have tried to capture the historic atmosphere of the 2nd century.

Casteism is a sore on human society. It is easy to fulminate against it. It is easy to lump Brahminism with it and denounce both. But it is very difficult to avoid the twin errors of parallax and prejudice and obtain a correct reading on the caste system as it existed in its formative years. The discussions on *tinai* and *vettiyal-potuviyal* would show the slant in the work. We must recall here the author's observation that *cankam* literature is predominantly secular. That secular tradition, like the cultural tradition, happens to be a continuing tradition and a deep, distinguishing feature of Hindu society despite all seeming evidences to the contrary.

The lauguage is rather infelicitous when the author remarks that 'learning as a special discipline is something alien to the mores of the type of society depicted in early Tamil literature'.

Nothing that has been said so far is intended to detract from the merit of the work which is considerable. Undoubtedly, a work of this magnitude on ancient Tamil drama has not been conceived before much less attempted. The chapter on 'Character and Continuity of the Dance and Dramatic Forms' is a fascinating summation of the dramatic practices and trends in the three phases that had been considered separately in earlier chapters. It acquires added charm when reviewed in the light of a continuing tradition that persists to this day. The reading may not be easy in places, and the printer, often, not helpful. But it will profit anyone with a serious interest in Tamil drama to study the work with care and in depth. — N. V. Ram Narsan.

**Other Publications of The Tamil University**

The *News Bulletin* in English and Tamil are issued on the 15th of every month. The current number is Vol. 1 No. 11 and Vol. 1 No. 12 respectively.

SUBSCRIPTION

| | India & Sri Lanka | Foreign |
|---|---|---|
| Annual | Rs. 5-00 | U. S. $ 4/- |
| Three Years | Rs. 12-00 | U. S. $ 10/- |

Please enter your subscriptions for the *News Bulletin* to ensure the receipt of the issues regularly. The details of books to be published shortly will be announced in the next issue.

Regn. No. 17079/82 X-1

Published by Thiru S. Chellappan, Executive Editor and the Director of Publications on behalf of Tamil University, Thanjavur and Printed at the Githa Press, Tiruchirapalli – 620018.